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DENOMINATIONAL

OR

Free Christian Schools

IN MANITOBA.

By His Grace Archbishop Taché. exequat



WINNIPEG:

Standard Book and Job Printing Establishment,

1877.

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Denominational Schools

To the Editor of the Standard.

SIR,—While publishing your views on the question of Public Schools, you kindly expressed the satisfaction you experienced on seeing that others likewise give their opinion on the subject. This persuades me that you will liberally grant space in your columns, for a series of articles I intend to publish.

I regret to have to say, in the first place, that my convictions might be diametrically opposed to yours, nevertheless, I am convinced that, animated with a liberal spirit, and friendly to loyal and frank discussion, you will not be averse to fair play, and that you will afford your readers the opportunity to find in your own paper the reasons others have not to share the opinions you have therein expressed. Articles ably-written have treated the subject more lengthily and more cleverly than I can venture to do; but as they may not have come to the notice of your readers, the latter, so numerous in the Province, and yourself, sir, will be generous enough to receive, if not with pleasure, at least with courtesy, the counterpart of your own assertions.

Before mentioning the sphere intended for my observations, I beg leave to take a glance over our actual law of education.

The first Parliament of Manitoba, during its first session, passed an Act that was sanctioned on the 3rd of May, 1871. An amendment of detail received force of law on the 21st of Febru-

ary, 1872. The 8th March, 1873, sanction was given to amendments so considerable, that the Act enclosing them was styled "The Amended School Act." The second Parliament added to the great amount of work accomplished during its first session, "An Act further to amend the Act to establish a system of Education in this Province," and on the 14th May, 1875, the twenty nine clauses of the said Act received, in the name of the Queen, the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Moreover, on the 4th February, 1876, His Honor sanctioned the forty-five sections of "An Act to amend the School Acts of Manitoba, so as to meet the special requirements of incorporated cities and towns." All this legislation evidently proves that the legislators of Manitoba have been earnestly pre-occupied concerning the question of education, to which they have devoted a large share of their labors.

The above laws have been enacted, either with the unanimity, or at least, with the majority of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. They have all been sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor, in the name of the Queen, none of them have been disavowed by the more immediate representative of the Sovereign.

Therefore the said laws are duly and lawfully the code that governs the Province of Manitoba, with regard to the education of its children. The actual laws of education admit and protect the principle of denominational schools, and, in fact, as well as in name, make them either Protestant or Catholic, entirely distinct and independent among themselves and respectively submitted *only to the section of the Board of Education to which they belong.*

The Protestant section of the Board of Education has under its control the management of the Protestant schools. It has the power to make, from time to time, such regulations as may be deemed fit for their general management and discipline; to arrange for the proper examination, graduating, and licensing of its teachers, and for the withdrawal of the license on sufficient cause; to select all the books, maps, and globes to be used in its schools;

and to approve of plans and dimensions for the erection of school houses under its control; the same Protestant section of the Board, has the power to erect, divide, and subdivide Protestant school districts where it thinks proper throughout the Province; all school taxes and assessments, paid by Protestants are *exclusively for the maintenance of Protestant schools*. The money voted by the Legislative Assembly for educational purposes, is divided in proportion to the school population of each section. Therefore, the Protestants have the half, the two-thirds, the three-fourths of the Government grant, if they have the half, the two-thirds, the three-fourths, &c., of the school population. In a word *the Protestant schools are entirely under the control and jurisdiction of Protestants*; they receive all the money paid by Protestants for assessments, and they have their due share of public funds.

The Catholics having nothing to do with the Protestants schools have no action in them, and consequently they can in no way impede their success, welfare, and prosperity. The law, in granting such independence to the Protestant schools, and in protecting them against the intrusion of Catholics, even were the latter more numerous, secures similar independence to Catholic schools against the interference of Protestants, notwithstanding the latter being the majority in the Province. Such is the fundamental principle of the School Law of Manitoba.

Defective as this law may be in other respects, it is, nevertheless, true to say that the principle on which it is based is commended by a host of distinguished statesmen and publicists, together with other eminent men of all countries, ranks and denominations. The same principle has made the prosperity of certain nations, while placing them foremost in civilization; and without seeking illustration abroad, every one knows that the two most important Provinces of the Canadian Confederation have separate schools, and are satisfied with the system; while, respecting the rights of all, this system opens a wide field to noble and ge-

nerous emulation, which, as a general rule, secures more ample and better results.

On the other hand, we see the same principle opposed by men who think they have a right to lead public opinion. But allow me to say that mere opposition to a system of education does not prove that the same is contrary "to the more enlightened spirit of the present age." It is surely a mistake to think that "the triumph of the principle of justice" consists in replacing the system adopted here by the very improperly termed "Unsectarian public school system."

I have no knowledge of Catholics having any desire to bring a radical change in our school laws. I am not even aware whether the Protestant population, left to itself, *and not agitated by extreme men, moved by sectarian views, or political ambition*, would ever think of bringing about the proposed change, or of forcing it upon their fellow citizens. On the event of the Protestant population not being satisfied with the actual condition of things, I will take the liberty to respectfully make the following suggestions:

Allow the Catholics to enjoy the liberty you would certainly claim, were you in their place; do not meddle with their schools, otherwise nor more than you would wish them to do, were they the majority in the Province. If your own school regulations do not meet your approbation, you can easily bring a remedy without agitating our Province, and injuring the just susceptibilities, and the conscientious convictions of others. You are masters of your own position, make your own schools what you wish them to be, but leave to Catholic Schools the character held dear by their supporters.

I have already fully stated, and every one knows, that the Protestants have the control of their schools by the *actual law*; they teach only what they like, they can leave off, in their teaching, all that displeases them; they can, if they choose, exclude all religious teaching; that concerns themselves, the law secures them that right; and I do not think the Catholics will ever object to it. On the other hand, I see neither liberality nor justice, on the part of the

majority, to endeavor to control the Catholic Schools, or to destroy their autonomy, in order to govern them.—Instead of setting forth an irritating, useless, and dangerous question, that has already occasioned such deplorable results, even within our young Confederation, why do not the friends and advocates of this pretended reform, turn their zeal towards what is *naturally, and by the law, under their authority*? If the proposed change be the result of divergence of opinion among the different Protestant sects, and if the latter agree to it, let the Protestant section of the Board of Education accomplish the change in the schools under its control and they will then have unsectarian schools for their children.—If it be the wish of Protestants, let the Board exclude from their schools everything Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist &c., and, if they choose, all that is Christian; let them make the experiment in their midst, and in what concerns them. When a generation will have reaped the fruits thereof, and proved by experience the efficiency of the system to secure the moral and intellectual improvement of its partisans, then, indeed, you will have no trouble in obtaining the co-operation of the Catholics, who, naturally, will be only too happy to secure, for themselves, the benefits enjoyed by others. *Then, but not till then*, people will see the realization of the hope expressed by the *Free Press* in its issue of the 25th. August last. “We have little doubt that . . . the prelates of that Church (Catholic) will see the wisdom and justice of complying with public opinion in a reform that will conduce to the general well being of the people.” In my opinion, the prelates of the Catholic Church have the well being of the people sufficiently at heart to willingly and promptly adopt any system of education that experience would prove them to be the most advantageous.

So far the thing is merely being ventilated in our young Province, and unfortunately the result of the trial elsewhere is far, very far from being satisfactory, so without any uneasiness as to what the prelates of the Catholic Church will say hereafter, I take the liberty, and I do so without hesitation, to affirm that the system termed “unsect-

rian public schools" meets with no sympathy on my part, and, in order not to appear unreasonable, allow me to say what I think of the system, in a legal, religious, and social point of view.

FIRST—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "NON-SECTARIAN SCHOOLS" IN MANITOBA, WOULD BE ILLEGAL.

The first question that presents itself to the mind in the actual controversy is this: has the Legislature of Manitoba power to repeal the present educational laws and to replace them by a system repugnant to the minority of this Province? I do not hesitate in saying that our legislature has no such power. The minority of the Province having rights or privileges acquired and acknowledged, such rights or privileges are under the safe guard of a superior authority; and, consequently, the power of the legislative Assembly of Manitoba, does not extend so far as to violate such rights or privileges. Any law enacted in the above sense, would be *ultra vires* null, and certainly disallowed at Ottawa.

I understand the magnitude and delicacy of the task imposed upon a tribunal called upon to decide on the validity of a legislative Act. I understand the importance and lucidity of the proofs that such a tribunal would require, to become convinced that the highest legal authority in the Province had failed and gone beyond the limits assigned to its legislative power.

I know all this, but I am equally aware that in the case of usurpation of power, the superior authority has the obligation to discountenance such proceedings, and to grant to those who are unjustly dealt with, the protection to which they are entitled by the laws that govern them. Legislative independence, warranted to the different Provinces of the Canadian confederation, is justly precious to every Canadian, and no one should act in a way to diminish such an important prerogative. On the other hand, it is the duty of the Provincial Legislature not to attempt anything beyond the restrictions expressed in the Imperial Acts that constitute the same legislature. It is a cause of

legitimate pride for the inhabitants of a Province to know and feel that they are free; but it is equally necessary to their happiness to know and to feel that they are protected. Protection is as necessary as freedom, of which it is the complement. Without the protection for some the freedom of others may easily degenerate into license. Citizens would lose the respect and reliance on the noble institutions that govern the country, should the protection to which they have a right be, in their estimation, inferior to the freedom they enjoy.

The theory of absolute power vested in the Provincial Legislature in all cases, is entirely inadmissible, as the Imperial Acts that establish such legislature, have limited their action in a clear and precise manner. It is obvious that the question of education is among those on which it is not lawful to enact without certain restrictions.

Before proceeding any further on the matter, I wish to review the objection that has been improperly raised, as based on the subsection 1 of section 92 of "The British North America Act, 1867." To invoke the said sub-clause as a proof that each province has an entire, absolute and unrestrained power relative to education, denotes a very superficial study of the Act itself. "The British North America Act" classifies the matters of which it treats under XI titles, within XI principal divisions, some of which are subdivided. The following synoptic table of matters contained in the said Act will show, at first sight, the futility of the objection I combat:

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT, 1867.

Remarks.

I. Preliminary.

II. Union.

III. Executive Power.

IV. Legislative Power.—The Senate; The House of Commons. 1. Ontario. 2. Quebec 3. Nova Scotia. 4. New Brunswick. Money Votes. Royal Assent.

V. Provincial Constitutions.—

Executive Power. Legislative Power. 1. Ontario. 2. Quebec. 3. Ontario and Quebec. 4. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. 5. Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia. 6. The four Provinces.

VI. Distribution of Legislative Powers.—

Powers of Parliament. Exclusive Powers of Provincial Legislature. Education. Uniformity of Laws in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Agriculture and Immigration.

VII. Judicature.

VIII. Revenues, Debts, Assets, Taxation.

IX. Miscellaneous Provisions—General, Ontario and Quebec.

X. Intercolonial Railway.

XI. Admission of other Colonies. Schedules.

Such are the divisions and subdivisions of the "British North America Act." It is certainly an elementary rule of interpretation to say that, when an Act has divisions under certain titles, the very words used as titles of the divisions, when employed in any section of the said Act, mean the matters contained in the division to which such words are prefixed as title. Therefore, the words "*Constitution of the Province*," used in the clause 92, must necessarily refer to what, and to nothing but to what, is contained within the division V under the title *Provincial Constitutions*.

The clause 92 belongs to division VI, and its first sub-section reads as follows: 1. "The Amendment from time to time notwithstanding anything in this Act of the *Constitution of the Province*, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor."

One must close his eyes to the evidence and to the clearest and most natural sense of the words, not to read in the above mentioned sub-section, the very title of the division V, "*Provincial Constitutions*." And the division V being the only part of the Act that fixes the Provincial Constitutions, is the only

part of the said Act referred to, by the said subsection of the clause 92. On the contrary, "Education" being neither *Constitution of the Province*, nor even mentioned in the division V, cannot be aimed at by the sub section which now occupies me, and which treats only of amendments of the *Constitutions of the Province*.

The division VI of our "British North America Act" shows the distribution of legislative powers, and determines the limits of the Federal as well as of the Provincial Legislatures, indicating to the one as well as to the others, what is and what is not subject to their jurisdiction. The clause 93, which forms by itself the subdivision entitled "Education," is the only one that indicates the extent, as well as the limits, of the powers of the Provincial Legislature, relative to this important subject.

Instead of referring exclusively to the matters contained in the division V, under the title "Provincial Constitutions," if anything in the clause 92 could affect the dispositions of the clause 93, it would with equal reason affect the clause 91, and, with the same stroke, annul all the restrictions that the Imperial Act intended to put, and did put, to the powers of Provincial Legislature. Such cannot be the case. "The British North America Act" has divided and classified the matters of which it treats in a manner too evident and too lucid to leave room for such confusion of ideas.

It is therefore evident that the section 93, while stating that "in and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education," affirms at the same time, that such laws shall be "subject and according to the provisions" set forth in its subsections; provided always, that the inhabitants of each Province be in such legal conditions, as would secure to them the benefit, or, if you like the word better, the restraint indicated by the said sub-sections.

Enough for the objection.

What now remains for me to examine, are the limits that the Imperial Act set to the powers of the Executive and Legislative authorities of the Province of Manitoba, in relation to the educational laws "affecting any rights or privileges of the Pro-

testant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in this Province.

"Nobody, I am sure, will doubt of the nullity of a Provincial Act that would be in direct opposition to one or several Imperial Acts; especially, when those Imperial Acts are the same that have constituted the Provincial Legislature, stating what it should do, or leave undone.

In relation to Education, "the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects" in the Province of Manitoba, are under the protection of two different Acts; the one being properly an Imperial Act, and the other, although a Federal Act, having received, from an Imperial Act, the configuration which guards it, not only against the Provincial Legislature, but even deprives the Federal Parliament, that has enacted it, of the right to repeal or amend it. Yes, the Imperial Act 34 and 35 Victoria Chapter XXVIII cited as the British North America Act 1871" was passed to validate the Manitoba Act and protect the rights conferred thereby.

Follow certain clauses of the Imperial Act last mentioned:

(3.) "The Parliament of Canada may from time to time with the consent of the Legislature of any Province of the said Dominion increase, diminish or otherwise alter the limits of such Province upon such terms and conditions, as may be agreed to by said Legislature and may with the like consent, make provisions respecting the effect and operation of any such increase or diminution, or alteration of Territory in relation to any Province affected thereby."

(5.) "The following Acts passed by the said Parliament of Canada, and entitled respectively, 'An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-west Territory, when united with Canada,' and 'an Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, Chap. 3, and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba,' shall be deemed to have been valid and effectual for all purposes whatsoever, from the date at which they respectively received

"the assent, in the Queen's name, of the Governor-General of the said Dominion of Canada."

(6.) "Except, as provided by the third section of this Act, it shall not be competent for the Parliament of Canada to alter the provisions of the last-mentioned Act of the said Parliament in so far as it relates to the Province of Manitoba, or of any other Act hereafter establishing new Provinces in the said Dominion, subject always to the right of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba to alter from time to time the provisions of any law respecting the qualification of electors and members of the Legislative Assembly, and to make laws respecting elections in the said Province."

I have made this lengthy quotation, in order to prove that the so-called Act of Manitoba is on the same footing with the "Act of British North America, 1867," consequently, the Federal Parliament can alter nothing relative to education, either in the one or the other of these Acts; and the Legislature of Manitoba cannot over-ride the limits assigned to it by the same laws. Let us see at present what guarantee the same Acts give to the Catholic minority of the Province of Manitoba, against the endeavors to deprive it of its separate schools, by substituting, for the actual laws, a system of education styled: "Non sectarian Public Schools."

We read as follows in the "British North America Act, 1867":

93. "In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

(1.) "Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools, which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union."

(2.) "All the Powers Privileges and Duties at the Union, by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School-Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects; shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec."

(3.) "Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exist by law at the union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council, from any Act or Decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education."

(4.) "In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seem to the Governor-General in Council, requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in any case any decision of the Governor-General in Council, or any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section."

The ordinary power conferred upon the Provincial Legislature by this section 93, may be lessened by its four sub-sections, or by some of them, as the case may be.

The first sub-section being liable to different interpretations, I agree to take no advantage of it; and to leave to opponents all they can claim. I will not even mention the protection that Catholics can claim under such *proviso*.

The second sub-section being exclusively for the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec is, in no way, applicable to Manitoba, except, perhaps, to aid in convincing the enemies of our system of education, that the House of Commons in England, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom, and our Most Gracious Sovereign Herself are of opinion that the Provinces of the Canadian confederation, may have separate or dissentient schools, without impeding the "triumph of the principle of justice," and without moving too far, "from the more enlightened spirit of the age," otherwise they would not have enacted such legislation.

The third sub section suffices, by itself, to baffle

any attempt contrary to the fundamental principles of the School Law of Manitoba. People may say what they like, for or against the system, "but nobody can deny its existence.

Yes, every one knows that a "system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law in the Province of Manitoba, and that all our schools are either Protestant or Catholic, and such system has been "established by the Legislature of the Province." This is a right or privilege acquired by the Catholics and "appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any rights or privileges" thus conferred by law.

Should an attempt be made, in violation of this Imperial Act, no doubt, the Catholics of Manitoba, members or not, of the Legislative Assembly, and, helped by the Catholics of the Federal Parliament and of the Dominion shall lie their appeal, and that appeal being a right, the Governor-General in Council, cannot overlook it. It is impossible to elude this sub-section and, save the case of deplorable and dangerous blindness, every one should understand that it is an insuperable barrier, erected by the Imperial Parliament, to stay all efforts, tending to deprive the Roman Catholic minority of Her Majesty's subjects in Manitoba, of the rights or privileges they enjoy, in relation to education.

The fourth sub-section gives power to the Federal Parliament, to enact remedial laws, should the Provincial Legislature neglect to comply with the decisions of the Governor-General, relative to the appeal above mentioned.

That shows that the appeal is not an empty word, and that the law shall protect those to whom it grants a right, and make good the maxim *ubi jus ibi remedium*.

"Therefore the British North America Act," instead of giving to the Provincial Legislature an unlimited power in relation to education, confines it to certain dispositions, and any action contrary to law, and intended for a Statute would be *ultra vires* and consequently null.

In order to complete conviction on the subject, I will enquire of the opponents of Catholic Schools

of Manitoba what they would think, what advice they would give and what action they would take, supposing the Catholic majority of Québec deprive the Protestant minority of the same Province of their Educational Rights or Privileges.

What noise would result not only in Quebec but throughout the Dominion and perhaps more in Manitoba than anywhere else!

What an amount of reproach and result would be lavished on the Catholics of Québec! From every quarter an energetic appeal would go to the Governor in Council. Undoubtedly His Excellency would feel, and would in reality be bound to recall to the Legislature of Quebec, the Dispositions of section 93, to prescribe the remedy to such an abuse of power, and if, after that, the Legislature of Québec did not hasten the enacting of the remedial law, the Parliament of Canada would not be slow in so doing, and such would be its duty.

The Catholic majority of Quebec will never commit such a fault, nor dream of such an injustice to the Protestant minority. Why then should the Protestant majority of Manitoba be suspected of having such a disposition towards the Catholic minority in its midst? In a country like ours when all citizens enjoy equal rights, there cannot be two weights and two measures.

What the Protestant minority in Quebec is entitled to, the Catholic minority of Manitoba is equally entitled to. What would be unjust, sectarian, illegal and unconstitutional on the part of the Catholic majority of Quebec, is equally unjust, sectarian, illegal and unconstitutional on the part of the Protestant majority of Manitoba, or rather *on the part of those who wish to prepare and excite the majority to depart from the path of justice and honor.*

Should any one be inclined to think that the "British North America Act 1867" applies merely to the four Provinces originally united by the said Act and not at all to the Province of Manitoba, that was established and admitted into the Confederation four years later; I would invite him to peruse the second section of the "Manitoba Act" that reads as follows:

(2.) "On, from and after the said day on which

"the order of the Queen in Council shall take effect as aforesaid the provisions of the 'British North America Act 1867' shall, except these parts thereof which are in terms made, or by reasonable intendment may be specially applicable to, or only to affect one or more, the Dominion, and except so far as the same may, but not the whole of the Province now composing be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba, in the same way, and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of Manitoba, had been one of the Provinces originally united by the said Act.

Do: Butless the above Section is too clear and explicit to need comment. It of course prevents the application to Manitoba, of the second sub-clause of clause 93 of the "British America Act" that refers exclusively to Ontario and Quebec; but, on the other hand, it applies to Manitoba, the other dispositions of the "British North America Act" in relation to education, and consequently lessens the power of the Legislature of Manitoba, gives right of appeal to the minority, binds the Governor-General to remedy the evil, and in case of necessity authorizes the Canadian Parliament to enforce by remedial laws the decision of the Governor-General upon such appeal.

It cannot be objected that the Province of Manitoba is not entitled to the dispositions of the "British North America Act" relative to education, because the Act of Manitoba enacted subsequently, on the same subject. Such pretension is quite inadmissible, it would be equally true to say that the 6th clause of the "Manitoba Act" relative to the Lieutenant-Governor, being identically the same as the 58th section of the "British North America Act," all the dispositions of the latter relative to the Lieutenant Governors of the different Provinces, do not apply to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

The dispositions of one law cannot annul the dispositions of the other except when contradictory; but such cannot occur when both Acts say the same thing, or when the one amplifies on the contents of the other.

The relation between the two Acts in question is as follows: The 93rd section of the "British North America Act" recognizes the power of the Provincial Legislatures to pass laws relative to education, but subject to the dispositions mentioned in its sub sections, and that, I repeat, is the law in Manitoba as well as in other Provinces, while the 22nd section of the Manitoba Act recognizes to the Legislature of this Province, the power to pass law relative to education, but subject to the dispositions mentioned in its own sub-sections; and please observe that these last dispositions, far from being in opposition to those of the "British North America Act," are merely an extension and development of the same, consequently both Acts concur in granting protection to the Catholic minority of Manitoba, and justify the assertion that the minority of the Prairie Province is better safeguarded than that of the old Provinces.

The fact is obvious to any one that takes the trouble to read the 22nd clause of the Manitoba Act, while bearing in mind that the said Act has all the force of an Imperial Act.

22. "In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

(1.) "Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Province at the Union.

(2.) "An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any provincial authority, affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education.

(3.) "In case any such Provincial Law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that

"behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far
 "only as the circumstances of each case require, the
 "Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for
 "the due execution of the provisions of this section,
 "and of any decision of the Governor-General in
 "Council under this section."

In perusing the above section it is easy to observe its resemblance with the 93rd section of the "British North America Act." What now remains to discern is the *different wordings* of the two laws, and then decide if the *difference* tends to diminish or to amplify, on the guarantee of protection given to the minority of Manitoba. The difference is as follows:

Act of 1867.

93. In and for EACH PROVINCE the Legislature . . .

(1.) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools, which any class of persons have by Law.

(2.) (Only for Ontario and Quebec.)

(3.) Where in any Province a system of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by Law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or Decision of the LEGISLATURE of any PROVINCIAL AUTHORITY affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education.

(4.)

Act of 1870.

22. In and for THE PROVINCE the SAID Legislature . . .

(1.) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools, which any class of persons have by Law or PRACTICE.

(2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council for any Act or Decision of the LEGISLATURE OF THE PROVINCE OR OF ANY PROVINCIAL AUTHORITY affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education.

(3.)

There is not the slightest doubt that what precedes proves that the Manitoba Act amplifies on the protection granted to the minorities by the Imperial Act of 1867, instead of diminishing it. By the Law of 1867, the Legislature of EACH PROVINCE is obliged to safeguard any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class

of persons have *by law*, while, by the Act of 1870 the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba has the same obligation concerning the rights and privileges held *by law or practice*.

By the Act of 1867 an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council, *but solely when a system of separate schools exist by law*, while the Manitoba Act *authorizes the same appeal in any case affecting any right or privilege even without a system of education previously established by law*.

The Manitoba Act extending and amplifying the protection, *le sens*, in the same proportion, the power of the Provincial Legislature on the subject.

I am not the only one that views the matter in this light, but among other testimony in corroboration, I could submit the appreciation of three important newspapers of the Province of Ontario, the "*Toronto Daily Globe*," the "*Ottawa Free Press*," and the "*Hamilton Evening Times*."

1. The *Toronto Daily Globe*. This paper had at first countenanced the movement hostile to Denominational Schools of Manitoba. Mature consideration of the subject, and sense of justice subsequently prevailed as it appears in the issue of 27th November, 1876, of which I give the following extracts:

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MANITOBA.

"We noticed recently the movement in Manitoba having for its object the reform or improvement of the Public School law of that Province, and referred to the efforts made in other parts of the Dominion to effect such arrangements as, while securing the practicable system of education, are designed to protect the rights and consult the conscientious scruples of minorities. But it must not be understood from this that in Manitoba, any more than elsewhere, the rights of minorities can be overridden or ignored.

"The Local Legislature may, of course, effect any changes in the administration of the school laws and not violate existing rights and privileges, but can do no more than this. The Manitoba Act, which is the constitutional charter of the Province of Manitoba, contains the same provisions.

"that are to be found in the British North America Act in regard to the rights of minorities in the other Provinces in this respect.

"The 22nd section itself, as well as the sub-sections, adopt literally the text of the British North America Act. It may be supposed, however, that the Manitoba Act having emanated from Dominion Parliament and not being, as was the British North America Act, a product of the Imperial Legislation, might be altered or amended by the same authority that originally enacted it. But this has been provided against by an Imperial Act, 34 and 35 Victoria, Chap. XXVIII, passed for the express purpose, among other objects, of giving the Manitoba Act validity and protecting the rights thereby conferred from the danger above suggested.

"The Parliament of Canada has no power to make the smallest change in the terms guaranteed by the Manitoba Act; and that the Local Legislature can only do so in respect of such matters as are specially confided to its jurisdiction, of which as the quotation we have given from the 22nd section shows, the right of minorities as existent at the time of the union is not one."

2. "*The Ottawa Free Press*." The journal of the Capital before perusing the above article of the *Globe* and under the unfavorable impression caused by another issue of the same organ, wrote as follows on the 1st of December, 1876:

SEPARATE SCHOOLS IN MANITOBA.

"A discussion is going on in the Province of Manitoba just now on the subject of the school system of that Province. The agitation which is now sought to be raised, apparently more by the Toronto *Globe* than by the people of the Prairie Province, looks ostensibly to the following objects, viz: the abolition of the present Board of Education and the establishment of a non-sectarian system, compulsory use of English text books in the schools, all public schools to be subject to the same regulations; the appointment of inspectors; establishment of a training school for teachers, and a new plan for the allotment of school moneys. This means, in short, the total abolition of separate school system and

"considering the nature of the subject, and the delicate character of the interests affected, it appears to us that it would be the wiser course on the part of our Toronto contemporary to leave the agitation to those more immediately interested.

"The only possible result can be to stir up sectarian strife and heart burnings such as unhappily prevail in New Brunswick, and which are most undesirable elements to introduce in a young and growing community comprising mixed population, both as to language and religion.

"It is an agitation that could not fail to be attended with a considerable degree of asperity, trenching upon dangerous ground, which it would be well to avoid and which it is no part of the people or journals in this part of the Dominion to assist in bringing about.

"The discussion is more injudicious, as there is no possible means of attaining the object sought professedly by this agitation. The Manitoba Act under whose authority separate schools exist in that Province, and which forms a portion of the constitution of the country, was by Imperial Act established beyond the power of the Parliament of the Dominion or Legislature of the Province to alter.

"Separate schools in Manitoba can only be established by the Act of the Catholic body itself, and we may rest assured, from the well-known policy of that denomination, that such action will never be initiated by them. Under all these circumstances, as we have pointed out before, the agitation of the subject and especially its agitation from outside the Province can lead to no result so far as its professed object is concerned, while it may be productive of very undesirable results, by stirring up sectarian strife, discord, producing irritation and creating heartburnings and animosities which would disturb the harmony and might seriously injure the welfare of the Province."

3. The *Hamilton Evening Times*: The above article of the *Free Press*, and that of the *Globe* which it combats, suggested the following remarks which I read in the *Hamilton Evening Times* of the 9th Dec. 1876:

"The *Globe* is urging that the schools in Manitoba should be made unsectarian, while the Ottawa *Free Press* shows very clearly that it is impossible that they would be so made without Imperial Legislation. Manitoba has, if anything, a stronger Imperial guarantee for the continuance of its separate schools than the older Provinces, so that the discussion in Manitoba of the question raised by the *Globe* can only do mischief without any possibility of good results of any kind arising. The example of Ontario proves that it would be a good thing if all the Provinces had separate schools, and that it is most certainly an unmingled evil to raise an agitation to take them from Provinces that already have them, more especially, if those who agitate for this can only have the agitation for their pains."

The three above journals, together with many others, some of which, although hostile to separate schools, are of my opinion that the establishment in Manitoba, of a system of education opposed to that now existing, is impossible.

The antagonists of the Catholic schools of our Province feel encouraged in their endeavours to overthrow them, because the "Common School Act, 1871," of New Brunswick was not disallowed, and that, as yet, the Catholics of that Province have to abide by it. Evidently, prejudice blindfolds, otherwise it is impossible not to see the essential difference between the position of the Catholics of Manitoba in 1877, and that of their co-religionists of New Brunswick in 1871. *All the arguments employed against the Catholics of New Brunswick and the legal opinions adverse to them, may be resumed as follows: the law having conferred no right or privilege to the Catholics before or after the union, they do not enjoy that of Appeal, consequently the Legislature of New Brunswick has an open field for legislation on education.*

Even with the supposition that this opinion be correct, who can fail to discover that it is impossible to apply it to Manitoba, the position being entirely different.

New Brunswick had no law establishing separate schools, while, on the contrary, Manitoba has laws

establishing them. The privileges enjoyed by the Catholics of New Brunswick were not conferred *by law*; in Manitoba it is *the law* that confers on Catholics the rights and privileges they enjoy. The sub-sections of section 93 having no application in New Brunswick, the Imperial Act did not in any way restrict the powers of the Legislature of that Province in the enactment of its educational laws, nor grant to the minority the right of Appeal, while the 3rd and 4th sub-sections having their entire application in Manitoba, the Imperial Act lessens, in as much, the power of the Local Legislature and confers the right of Appeal. In a word, as long as *yes* will not mean *no* and *no* mean *yes*, the arguments brought against the Catholics of New Brunswick have all their force in favor of the Catholics of Manitoba; and that, let it be remembered, even without considering anything else than the British North America Act; and adopting the interpretation of the same Act, as given by those who placed the Catholics of New Brunswick in the situation they so reluctantly undergo.

The impossibility to abolish separate schools in Manitoba, becomes still more apparent when, after examining the Act of 1867, we consider that of 1870. By the latter, which is that of Manitoba, it is not necessary, as already shown, that the rights or privileges enjoyed by the minority be conferred *by the law*; it suffices that they be so *by practice*. This last word alone, had it been found in the Act of 1867, would have safeguarded the Catholics of New Brunswick.

By the Act of 1870, the right of Appeal is not, as in the Act of 1867, subject to the condition of the *pre-existence of a system of separate or dissentient schools established by law*. No, by the Act of 1870, *there is always room for Appeal*, from any violation of right, *even without the pre-establishment by law of a system of Denominational schools*; for it must be observed that the clause does not determine what must be the origin of such right; it suffices that they have been, and are, enjoyed either by law, by practice, by treaties or in any way whatsoever.

Without having ever been in the councils of those who drew up the law of 1870, it is easy to see why

the same Act in its section 22 repeats, while modifying it, the section 93 of the Act of 1867. The storm that broke out in New Brunswick in 1871 had already had its forebodings the year before. The framers of the Confederation noticed that they had involuntarily left an omission in the law of 1867, relative to education; and in order not to expose the Province of Manitoba to the difficulties they foresaw, but too late, for New Brunswick, they resolved to complete the Act of 1867 by that of 1870. This explains how the two Acts differ while resembling each other.

Whatever may have been the motive of this double legislation on the same subject, both Acts exist; they both safeguard the minority, and come to paralyze any effort made to deprive it of its acquired rights.

I had just finished what precedes when I received the "*Daily Free Press*" of the 19th January, 1877, in which I find that the Protestant section of the Board of Education had assembled on the eve at Winnipeg, and that an Executive Committee of the same had submitted the draft of a bill, which they were instructed to prepare by a resolution passed Oct. 14th, last.

In November, 1876, the "*Toronto Globe*" had already disclosed the mystery, and made known to the public in Ontario what had been withheld from the public in Manitoba, notwithstanding the peculiar interest the latter should take in transactions that concern themselves alone.

The measure proposed and now published by the Protestant Section of the Board of education is, as it appears, based on nine points of which the two principal are, "The establishment of a purely non-sectarian system of public schools," and "the abolition of the Board of Education in its present sectional character, and the appointment of a new Board without sections."

In the preceding pages I have opposed the scheme in question, but I must confess that I opposed it without being either able or willing to believe that it had been formed by a Board including men of

learning, high standing in society and deservedly enjoying respect and esteem. I did not think that a plan bearing such a taint of illegality could be the fact of a Board established by the law and acting officially in its name.

The few details furnished by the press concerning the meeting of the 19th inst., have a significance that will escape no one.

The Protestant section of the Board is composed of twelve members, *only five were present*, and one of them could not refrain from observing that he "considered the presence of only five members when so important a matter was to come into consideration as very discouraging."

"The Reverend President and the Reverend Secretary expressed a doubt as to the policy of discussing the proposed measure when there was only a bare quorum of the Board present."

Another Reverend member "expressed his personal views as strongly opposed to the teaching of religion in the public schools," while a lay member favored the inculcation in the public schools of fundamental religious principles."

As it often occurs *e pluribus unum* "it was finally resolved that the Board adjourn till Friday, the 2nd prox, at 2 p.m., and that the draft of the proposed bill be revised and printed, and copies sent to the Members before that date."

The above meeting, and the circumstances that characterize it, furnish abundant matter for comment, and such will certainly be given later. For my part, I must just now, keep within the bounds of the legal question. I am quite convinced, and I think I have proved, that the law is contrary to the proposed change, and I have not the slightest doubt that the Legislative and Executive authorities whose combined action is requisite to the passage and enforcement of our statutes, will stand to their duty, repulse the injustice that threatens the minority and not suffer such a stain to soil the history of our Province.

I shall only add a few words to explain the reason of my extreme surprise, on seeing that the Protestant section not only ask for a thing *illegal in itself*, but, moreover, asked for it in a *manner*

contrary to the spirit of our Provincial statutes and implicitly condemned thereby.

Our Provincial laws create a *General Board of Education* and invest it with power to make such regulations as it may think proper for the *general organization* of schools. This Board has consequently the duty to consider the *general interest of education*, and is composed of twenty-one members, twelve Protestants, and nine Catholics.

The same Provincial law requires that the General Board shall resolve itself into two Sectional Boards or committees, the one composed of the Protestant, and the other of the Catholic members, of the said General Board, and that to each of those respectively be referred *the administration of the schools belonging to the section.*

The sectional Boards have consequently the duty to consider the *particular interest and management of the schools of their respective denominations.*

The General Board may perhaps be styled a Federal Senate of Education and the sectional Boards are the executive committees of their respective sections. This is not at all unusual, and is exemplified in numerous organizations, among others in the case of certain universities that have their Senate, and besides that, distinct Faculties enjoying complete independence among themselves, and even with regard to their Senate except in matters concerning the general organization.

I fail to become convinced that it needs an unusual amount of intelligence to detect the difference that exists between the duties of the General Board and those of the Sectional Boards no more than that it needs an extraordinary amount of good will to allow these different Boards to act side by side without encroachment or uneasiness.

One must have never studied our law of education, or else faintly endeavored to facilitate its operation, to say that: "under the present law we have virtually two systems covering the same ground, which are both impractical and inefficient."

We have but one system of education, which like all other organizations, at the while, Legislative and administrative, comprehends different ramifi-

cations, that is to say; *the General Board, Sectional Boards, the Superintendents, the Board of Trustees, &c. &c.* As many *distinct* branches grafted on the same tree, THE LAW, whence they derive the sap that imparts them life and maintains their strength and vigor, provided each branch remain in *its own place*. Unfortunately, the last condition was done away with, in the occurrence I take objection to.

What was considered in the meeting of the 19th inst., is undoubtedly a question of *general interest* in education, therefore according to the spirit and even to the letter of law, becomes the province of our *General Board*. To treat such question of *general interest* in a *Sectional Board* is to make little of it, and to reduce it to the proportion of a denominational or rather of a Sectarian object.

Since members of the Board of Education thought proper to agitate a question of such magnitude and universal interest, why did they not bring it before the General Board?

Would it be, perchance, that feeling the proposed change to be so offensive to Catholics it was thought more advisable to work underhand, and to not even mention the object in view to the nine Catholic members of the board?

If, on the contrary, the intended scheme was supported by good and solid reasons, its authors should have been glad to make it known to their Catholic colleagues. Reason is always at home among sensible people. Who knows but that the Catholics themselves might have something reasonable to say on the subject? It is with the strike of ideas, as with that of flints; it may give light, and such light as may sometimes modify opinions. This was the case with the *Toronto Globe* in the month of November, when, after expressing its views in favor of the plan, soon after declared that the same was an impossibility.

It was considered, with reason, as "very discouraging that so important a matter" should be referred to the tribunal of "five" Judges, that had no right to decide officially on the matter. A little more discussion might have brought light, certainly not prejudicial to the subject.

Still more, Protestants have the majority in the

Board; even with the supposition, although such seems impossible, that they had no good reasons in support of their views, or that the Catholics had none to oppose to them; or, what is better still, that the convictions on both sides are so firm that it would be useless to attempt to modify them, the advantage was still siding with the number; and as twelve exceed nine, if the twelve be as unanimous as the nine, they would have carried the measure in the General Board.

Had the whole transaction been conducted in that way, the measure would appear to me *equally illegal in itself*; but I could not, and I would not blame *the mode of action*. It would be simply a *regular authority* acting *officially* in matters of its *ORDINARY* competence, and in the *manner* provided by the law.

Unfortunately, quite the reverse took place, one section only was invited to meet; some of its members answered the call; others abstained, and there, *under the pretence and the name of an official position* five gentlemen examined and decided on a question not belonging to them *as a body*, though they may claim the right to examine it *as individuals*, and they decided, in the *name of the Board*, that the endeavor must be made to crush the Catholic section. Instead of *busying themselves, about and for themselves*, as to the changes that might satisfy those that *are said* to be dissatisfied with the actual management of their schools, why do they endeavor to throw on the Catholic section the responsibility that does not belong to it, and that, in matters which by the actual law, are beyond its control?

What a queer idea to fancy that all that is said against the administration of schools will be stopped by pronouncing against the Catholic section the famous sentence: "*Let it be destroyed!*" "*Delenit est Carthago.*"

It is with words as with drums, the emptiest are the most sonorous, and *vice versa*. Reform is spoken of, and *with that big, very big word*, it is thought that the population is to be startled, that the Members of the Legislature will be *influenced by the fear of losing their seats at the next general election*; and with the aid of the stratagem, per-

sonal views and secret animosities are expected to prevail against Catholics. Evidently, this last result, though not professedly, is, in reality, the sole object in view.

In the name of law and of justice, let me be permitted to make an appeal to the good sense of the Protestant population and to the Members that represent it in the Legislative Assembly, to beg of them not to forget that the section of the Board that exclusively governs their schools, has the right to do by itself, and for them, all that is necessary for their good administration, and that the reform spoken of is merely in view to injure Catholic schools. The new scheme affords *no new facility for the success of Protestant schools, while it would largely impede that of the Catholic schools.* Above all, the scheme that is intended is *illegal in itself*, and in the manner it has been preferred by the Sectional Board.

I say the Sectional Board, notwithstanding my convictions that there are men in that Board worthy of my respect, and animated with such broad views that they would not wilfully mingle in a manœuvre so narrow and unworthy of them.

SECOND — THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NON-SECTARIAN SCHOOLS FROM A RELIGIOUS POINT OF VIEW.

In the foregoing article is shown that the project of replacing the actual school law in Manitoba by another system was a project illegal and unconstitutional. The task assumed was not a difficult one, the Constitution is so explicit on the point that its attentive perusal suffices to convince of the illegality of the proposed scheme.

I now come to the second part of my thesis and examine the plan from a religious standpoint. Here again I have no hesitation in affirming, that I am not in sympathy with the so-called system of "Non Sectarian Public Schools," and my reason is, because the system is essentially anti-religious and anti-christian.

I beg of the reader not to become over-excited at the announcement of a few reflections on a subject so delicate and on which it is so easy to arouse the susceptibilities of those who differ with us in opinion. My intention is not to enter upon irritating Controversy. Far from me the slightest desire to offend any one; what I wish is, to draw attention to a question deserving the most serious consideration of all the religious denominations that compose our population.

No doubt theology plays a part here, for the sublime science embraces not only all that relates to the supernatural but as well, all the duties of man, and viewed in this light, is the resort of all, and I may say is relished by all those that form the population, I now address. Canadians being a religious people can hear mention made of duty without taking offense and will not find fault with a well-wisher coming forward to point out, with respect and affectionate interest, the dangers towards which the present generation is ushered. All our people comprehend the necessity of knowing God, of loving

him and serving him. All are well aware that there alone can be found the securities needed by society and the pledge of final happiness that individuals aspire to.

At ease on this wide and firm platform, I freely repeat, the System of non *Sectarian Schools* is a system essentially anti-religious and one that must needs be repugnant to the conscience of every christian. In proof of what I advance I will say : 1st, That the system disguises its tendencies and deceives by assuming a name that does not define it properly ; 2nd, That it is impossible with us ; 3rd, That were it possible, it is not desirable ; 4th, That the system is not desired.

1st, The name given to the "non-Sectarian system" is inaccurate and does not convey an exact idea of what the system really is ; a name that discloses neither the origin, the principles, the tendencies nor the result of the system.

The abuse made of words is astonishing. They as well as language were intended for man to express their ideas, but how often does it not occur that the use of a word—entirely void of the sense given it and having in reality quite a different meaning—deceives the unguarded and leads them in a direction they would otherwise carefully avoid. Thus in the name of *religion* men have often been spurred on to the greatest crimes ; in the name of *liberty*, the utmost subjection has been imposed ; in the name of *protection* slavery has been proclaimed ; in the name of *justice* acts of the most crying injustice have been perpetrated ; in the name of *equal rights*, the most ridiculous and the most contradictory distinctions have been established. In like manner, under the protection of the word "non-sectarian" sectaries arise, sectarian in the widest sense of the word, sectarian not only in their endeavors to maintain their own principles, but extending their sectarianism to the degree of forcing others to submit to their plan, and even of making them pay for its diffusion. Thus in fact sectarianism is the consequence of a system of education pretended to have been established purposely to do away with sectarianism.

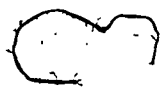
It is unfair and injudicious to play with words, especially when the same words tend to mislead the public mind, to deceive a great number of those acting in good faith and with the most sincere intentions, and to serve the designs of others not equally upright.

The mere mention of Sectarianism, Sectarian Institutions or Schools often suffices to excite mistrust and disturb even honest minds, it even dictates the most unjust and arbitrary measures that in such circumstances, easily obtain assent. While, on the other hand, for many, it is enough to hear the word "non-Sectarian System," to relieve and convince them that there is perfection, and that every one should be taken with enthusiasm for a system injurious to no one. Amidst such a confusion of ideas provoked by misrepresentation and abuse of words, it is easy to overlook what should be done and what should be avoided.

I say that the word "non-sectarian" applied to the system in question is necessarily deceptive and the ground of my assertion is quite simple: The system is the doctrine, or, if you like the word better, the opinion of persons united in the same conviction and consequently opposed to the opinion or doctrine of other persons differing with them.

The system is therefore sectarian, for it is the teaching of a class and opposed to the system advocated by other classes of individuals. It is well known that the word sect comes from the latin *secta* and the latter derives from the verb *seco* to cut off, separate. Well, now, I ask, if, perchance, those who speak of establishing their so-called "non-sectarian" system, do not separate from those that reject it. Is it not their aim to have opinions prevail, opposed to their adversaries? Do they not assume that they are in the right, and that their views ought to be endorsed? Is not all this Sectarian?

A system, to be non-sectarian, would have to be neither in conformity with nor opposed to any sect whatsoever. Every one, it is true, discovers sectarianism in a teaching in conformance with the doctrine of a teaching body; it should be equally evi-



dent to all that Sectarianism prevails in the Body that opposes the teachings of another. If I am looked upon by my neighbor as Sectarian because I maintain my own convictions, my neighbor becomes equally sectarian in my eyes, the moment he opposes them. If I am Sectarian, because I say a child should be taught "there is a God," you are equally Sectarian if you deny that a child should be taught "there is a God." If I am Sectarian while affirming that the divinity of Jesus Christ should be confessed in schools, you are at least equally Sectarian if you maintain that such teaching should be avoided.

A number of individuals united in the same belief form a sect and while one disowns the convictions of others it aims solely at the establishment of its own. Others differ with us only because we wish to differ from them.

The exclusion of all religious teaching does not prevent a school system from being sectarian. Every one knows of the existence of a sect whose fundamental principle is to abolish and abstain from all religious teaching. The same sect has its teachers, its tribunes, its journals, its adepts, and, in fact, its entire organization. If you do away with religious instruction in schools, you may indeed make them neither Catholic nor Protestant but for all that you would not make them "*non-sectarian*" because, while rejecting every other doctrine, you would adopt that of the sect that rejects the teachings of any religion. While there is divergency of opinion a "*non-sectarian*" system cannot exist, because the training of children according to the views of some would be disapproved of by others. One sect is put aside merely to adopt another.

John C. Spencer, Secretary of State and Superintendent of Schools in the United States, made a report to the Legislature of New York, in which I read the following paragraph which comes perfectly to my subject:—"To the plan (De-nominational Schools") objections have been made "that it would enable different religious denominations to establish schools of a *Sectarian* character, and that thereby religious dissensions would be aggravated, if not generated. The objection itself pro-

"ceeds on a *sectarian principle* and assumes the power to control that which is neither right nor practicable to subject to any denomination."

"It is believed to be an error to suppose that the absence of all religious instruction, if it were practicable, is a mode of avoiding sectarianism. *On the contrary it would be in itself sectarian, because it would be consonant to the views of a particular class and opposed to the opinions of other classes.*

"Those who reject creeds and resist all efforts to infuse them into the minds of the young before they have arrived at the maturity of judgment which may enable them to form their own opinions would be gratified by a system which so fully accomplishes their purposes. But there are those who hold contrary opinions, and who insist on guarding the young against the influence of their own passions, and the contagion of vice by implanting in their minds and hearts those elements of faith which are held by this class to be the indispensable foundation of moral principles. This description of persons regard neutrality and indifference as the most insidious form of hostility. It is not the business of the undersigned to express an opinion on the merits of these views. His only purpose is to show the mistake of those who suppose they may avoid sectarianism by avoiding all religious instruction."

Even the *non-Sectarian* system had no other affinity save that which every one can discover with the sectarianism of *no religion*, it would be sufficient to show how inconsistent it is with the appellation given it.

Of all the aberrations of the human mind, the most deplorable and the most degrading is that of the foolish sect which hath said in its heart, "There is no God," and it is to the schools of such a sect that we would be compelled to send our children! and to settle parent's minds, they are told, "*Our Schools are non-Sectarian.*"

Truly if such sectarianism were the only reason that renders the system inconsistent with its name, it is obvious that it would not have so many adepts, because any man calling himself a christian, would

spurn at a plan of education that is a constant negation of God and of His Christ, a system so pernicious to the little ones so dear to the Divine Saviour, and of whom he said, "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not to come to me," and exposing the same children to incur the very suggestive sentence of the Son of God; "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth."

It is evident that the sectarianism of *no-religion* is not the only one concealed under the qualification of "non-sectarian" given to schools that would be forced upon us. No, they who advocate the system have other views, they are, I hope, too much of fathers to wish their children *to be brought up as infidels*, without God, without faith, without religion. It needs very little perspicacity to detect the aim of certain upholders of the scheme, and to become convinced of their inmost thoughts. Some of them have had the courage to openly make known their aspirations.

A Reverend Doctor Clark of Albany, in a pamphlet that received the endorsement and approval of a great number of distinguished members of different Evangelical Denominations, who take an active part in the direction of the non-sectarian or common schools of the United States, the Rev. Dr. Clark says: "It has been a matter of congratulation in years past on the part of many Protestants that so many Roman Catholics are coming to this country, that they might be brought thereby under evangelical influence, and the most effectual agency in this work is our admirable Public School System."

Here lies the secret of the zeal displayed for the establishment of "non-sectarian schools" and the proof of the inaccuracy of the qualification given to the system. If instead of "non-Sectarian" people said "non-Catholic" it would be truer and calling things by the right name.

Persons versed in this matter know the words of the Rev. Nicholas Murray, a Presbyterian clergyman, spoken at a meeting in New York, to the effect that "while it was useless for the Protestants to trouble themselves about the conversion of the



"adult emigrant Catholics, *between the two stones of the mill the Bible and the Common Schools, they would grind Catholicity out of their children.*"

As for one of "the two stones of the mill" the Holy Bible, Catholics do not fear it; on the contrary, they revere and love it because *it is true in fact and in name.* It is, the Biblion, the Bock *par excellence*: it is the stone of, the first water, the water that flows from the fountain of Eternal Truth. It is the Word of God *in whose love Catholics wish their children to be taught in school.* No, the inestimable gem of the Bible will never "grind Catholicity out of the hearts of children." The stone is as smooth as it is true.

Such is not the case with the other "stone of the mill," non-sectarian schools, they are the *grinding* agency, because they are *as rough as their name is false*, and the system hurtful throughout. Such agency will necessarily shake the convictions of the children, because the whole plan under the cover of "non-sectarianism" is "the most insidious form of hostility."

The falsity of the qualification given to the system becomes still clearer when we come to consider that its supporters not only select it for themselves but would force it upon others whether they choose it or not. Hundreds, thousands, millions of men unite in an opinion with regard to the education of their children. They say to the partisans of "non-sectarian schools:" *"We cannot approve your system, keep it for yourselves and for those under your control, we want liberty to educate our dear little ones. Since you boast of being 'non-sectarian' be consistent with yourself and allow others to choose what they like better."*

No, reply the upholders of the proposed plan, we call our schools "non-sectarian" that suffices, and "the plea of conscience urged against non-sectarian schools is fallacious." We are determined to have our own way. If you do accept it we shall create agitation; we shall arouse fanaticism; we shall raise a cry against sectarianism; then we shall come to the polls, and if a majority *even of one side* with us you shall abide by the law that annoys you. We shall be your masters, and we shall teach what-

ever we think proper. We shall force you to give us your children to be taught—not according to your views—but according to the programme determined by our sect. One vote in our favor, and your children no longer belong to you, but they belong to us for we are the State. So much the better for us if you are not pleased, we will have all the *Government Grant* for ourselves, we will have for the benefit of our own children, *all the school assessments on your real and personal property*. If all this does not ease your conscientious scruples, build school houses of your own. But mind, we will *assess them*, it will be so much added to your *school taxation*, in favor of our children, because our schools are “NON-SECTARIAN.”

Such language sounds more like a dream than a reality, and seems impossible in a country where religious liberty is proclaimed for all; nevertheless, it is the sad story of the countries in which prevails the system so disingeniously called “non-sectarian.” Such is the lot reserved by that *arch-sectarianism*, for those who rely on the right of thinking otherwise, and comply with the obligation to follow the dictates of a conscience which does not agree with the views of the NON-SECTARIAN “SCHOOLISM” SECT.

In order not to appear a prey to a delusion I will cite proofs in figures:

It is in the United States that the so-called “non-sectarian” system spread the most widely. So it is there that it is easier to judge how far it stands to its name, and if, in reality, the system is such as to inspire confidence in all.

There are in the United States about 6,200,000 Catholics; having the same claim as others to citizenship; who pay their taxes, and moreover the school assessments; who, consequently, bear all the charge imposed on their fellow-citizens. Well, strange to say, the system is SO SECTARIAN that Catholics cannot be benefitted by it. While contributing largely for the erection of magnificent public schools; for providing the most complete apparatus and largely paid teachers, the same Catholics cannot help thinking and saying: That's the Institution where they wish “to grind Catholicity” from the hearts of our “children.” We are

forced to give them our money and we have done so, but we cannot give away the faith of our fathers and the souls of our children, and we will not give them. Notwithstanding the injustice and the hardship we will build another school. And, side by side with the grand public school—partly supported by them—the Catholics have gone to work and built other schools, where their children receive sectarian instruction if you like, but, at all events, sectarian according to the wish and the choice of parents; and that to avoid the *sectarianism of no religion* and the other forms of *sectarianism* taught in the “non-sectarian schools. There are, just now, over 500,000 children in the Catholic schools of the United States, whose parents have to bear the burden of double school expense.

I beg of the reader to consider with attention the following passages taken from a public lecture delivered on the 8th December, 1871; by the Right Rev. B. J. McQuaid, D.D., in his episcopal city of Rochester:

“Catholics have put forth their strength in behalf of their poor children. These need religion and all its helps in the church and at the fireside, but still more in the school which is the *child's church*.

“There are at the present time not far from 100,000 Catholic children in the Christian Free schools of the *State of New York*, and there are over 4,000 children in the Catholic schools of *Rochester*. These children are the children of the people; among them are children whose fathers' bones lie bleaching on the battlefields of the late war. Among them are many whose mothers' little earnings can ill be spared from the family's support.

“A plan or system of schools which in one State alone *excludes* one hundred thousand children of the very classes in whose behalf Free schools are supposed to be maintained, *cannot be said to be a success*. Schools that are carried on upon a basis so truly defective as those in this city of Rochester, which are able to gather within their walls no more than five thousand five hundred children in daily average attendance, *whilst a porion of its*

"citizens, who are unwilling to separate religion from education, can show an average daily attendance of 4,000 in special schools of their own, can scarcely be called COMMON SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

"It is, we know well, the system which the majority of our fellow-citizens have adopted, but we have yet to learn that majorities, even if all-powerful, are infallible, or that minorities have no rights, or that a system that falls back in its ultimate defence, when logic, sound sense and fair play have stormed all its positions, on the mere power of numbers, is a system that can, or that deserves to be permanent."

After dwelling lengthily on the subject, the eloquent Prelate resumes as follows:

"After what you have heard from me this evening, many may be anxious to know what do those Catholics really mean, and what is it they want. What are their views upon this great subject of education? In the first place, WE ARE IN FAVOR OF EDUCATION FOR THE PEOPLE. We are in favor of *the most general system of education* that can be devised. We favor a system that will bring in *all the children of the State*. But we do not favor a system that gives them a *defective, injurious, poisonous* education. Hence, since under the present system formed by the State we cannot take our stand upon the platform with our fellow-citizens, we retire to one of our own. We build school-houses and establish schools. I think that here, in the city of Rochester, *we need not fear comparison with the public school-houses of the city*. Here are the two school-houses of St. Joseph's, the largest school-houses in the city; the school house of the cathedral on Frank street; the very large and beautiful school-house of St. Peter's congregation; and the not so large but more beautiful school-house of the Immaculate Conception. *We build school-houses, large, spacious, roomy, well ventilated, well provided with all the appliances for imparting instruction*. We supply teachers and books. And I would not fear, although in these schools religion holds the first place, like a beautiful goddess presiding over all, I would not fear to bring out the children of

"all these schools and place them side by side with the children of any other schools in the city for examination in those secular branches which we are told are so valuable. We know their value. And while these branches are studied in our schools, we wish to bring in the beautiful handmaid of religion to help the child and improve its mind, to mould its young heart, and to draw the mind and heart to God. Our schools furnish the children all the other schools do, and furnishing this education, doing the very thing for which the State collects taxes and supports schools, we ask, and rightly and justly we ask, why is it that the money must all go in one direction and none of it come where so many of the children are to be found receiving the education the State means they shall have, and receiving at the same time THAT INTERDICTING THING CALLED RELIGION ?

"But while we claim these rights for ourselves we are equally strong in our convictions that the same rights belong to others. That whilst we bring religion into our schools and mean always to have religion there, we say to our non-Catholic fellow-citizens, bring into your schools whatever of religion you have, bring in prayer and religious singing and Bible reading. These means of good you hold as sacred and precious; we would much prefer good Protestants of any kind to infidels and deniers of all revelation. We thank God for any and all truth wherever we find it. If but the beginning of truth to-day, we pray God that this small beginning of truth may grow into the fullness of all truth."

It is a fact somewhat worthy of attention that in the city of Rochester, State of New York, there were in 1871 over 4,000 children in the Catholic schools, and that the parents of these children besides building and supporting the only schools to which they could send their children, had to furnish their full share for the erection and support of the so called "non-sectarian" schools for the instruction of 5,500 children of non-Catholic parents. No wonder that, under such circumstances, Catholics are "touchy" on the "non-sectarian school system."

Leaving the neighboring Republic, and coming

home to our dear Dominion, we find proofs of the falsity of the name given to the same mode of educating.

According to the census of 1871, New Brunswick had a population of 285,594, of which 96,016 were Catholics, that is to say they formed a little more than one third of the whole population; and that third was deprived of all held sacred and dear in their schools and compelled to bear all amount and any kind of *sectarianism* it might please the other two thirds to impose upon them. The Canadian Parliament felt the injustice and—nevertheless its large Protestant majority—remonstrated with the Executive of New Brunswick, but to no avail. Sectarianism is in the hearts, the law and the schools of the two thirds and the Catholics must abide by the consequences. In a locality of the same Province the Catholic population was 3,032 whilst the non-Catholic numbered ONLY 79. Well, the “non-sectarian” law passed by the two thirds against the one third, is such that 3,032 Catholics were left at the mercy of THE 79 NON-CATHOLICS.

Is all this “non-sectarian”?

In the town of Portland, as in the whole of the Province of New Brunswick, Catholics form the one third of the entire population. They pay their share of taxation for the support of the schools in which the children of the other two thirds are instructed, but their conscience forbidding them to send their own children to such schools, they had to erect others, and these were assessed to the amount of three hundred dollars, for the support of “non-sectarian schools,” and lately good Bishop Sweeny’s carriage was seized to pay the said tax.

All these hardships imposed upon the Catholics of New Brunswick are said by some to be nothing but “fair play,” “equal rights,” etc., so the good people of Prince Edward’s Island thought they could do no better than follow such example. Out of a population of 94,021, Catholics number 40,442. The non-Catholics took advantage of the small difference in numbers, the whole Island was agitated on the school question, fanaticism was aroused, war declared against Catholic schools, and

as ONE and ONE THIRD are more than ONE, the "non-sectarian system" prevailed. But to show how false is its name, only a few weeks ago the pupils of the school were furnished with a text book that a Catholic parent can not find in the hand of his child without being grieved and even insulted.

Besides the text books there are others that come to prove the deceitfulness of the name given to the plan of education I oppose. The latter are found in public libraries connected with the school system in question. Without mentioning the impious, infidel and immoral productions which have been found in such libraries, the choice of other books looked upon by some persons, as unobjectionable, indicates the most exclusive spirit and the utmost "*sectarianism*." As a general rule, not only almost all the books are Protestant, but moreover, a great number are written by the most violent and least scrupulous opponents of Catholicity. In such books the religion of nearly 300,000,000 christians is shamefully reviled, its teachings grossly misrepresented and the countries where it is practiced set forth an *unenlightened* and *inferior* in every way. Infamous calumnies—a thousand times refuted—are repeated over and over again as a matter of course. Catholics are pointed out as *worthless citizens*, their pastors as *angry wolves*, the Sovereign Pontiff as *the curse of the earth* and Catholicism as the enemy of liberty and learning. The immense services rendered to humanity, to science, to arts and civilization, are ignored by the greater number of the readers of "non-sectarian" libraries. They are, as it were, wrapped in a thick cloud formed by the ignorance of certain modernists, who get rid of the trouble of searching in the past, by terming "dark ages" a period during which there existed a host of eminent men reaping a rich harvest of science and virtue. A period during which Europe was covered with monuments of such grandeur and perfection, that they elicit to this very day the admiration of the most distinguished artists. Monuments of piety and also of genius, science and arts. Monuments impossible had the mediæval epoch been one of ignorance and deserving the appellation, "dark ages."

The most profound and deplorable ignorance, with regard to Catholicity, is remarkable in those who seek information in "non-sectarian" libraries, and read nothing else. Every day we are astonished to find men—otherwise well informed—entirely ignorant of all that belongs to the religion of their fellow countrymen. This ignorance is so complete, that there is many an "Israelite; indeed" who like Nathaneal of old say, in speaking of all within the pale of the Catholic Church: "Can anything of good come from" that quarter? The basest assertions against what is purest and most sacred, are stereotyped in books found in such libraries. "Non-sectarian" teachers recommend them; non-sectarian pupils read them; and a whole generation is embittered and nourishes feelings of contempt on the mere strength of falsehood.

The very history of our young country evinces proof of what I advance. Anything favorable to Catholicity is left aside or carefully lessened; and many Canadian pupils of what they call "non-sectarian schools," and readers of "non-sectarian libraries," have not the slightest suspicion of what has been done and endured by the French colonists and the French Canadians, in the discovery and settlement of this our common country; in defence of the British flag, and for the maintenance of our constitutional rights and liberties. Somewhat accustomed to the injustice of many of our fellow countrymen on the subject, truly refreshing were the just appreciation and noble words of Lord Dufferin, with regard to the first French settlers and French subjects of Her Majesty in Canada.

Many students in the sacalled "non-sectarian schools" have never pronounced the word "Catholic" but with disregard, and the word "French" but with contempt, and the word "Priest" but with horror.

Such is the result of the system, it is therefore evident that its qualification is spurious and the plan essentially sectarian. How often the ingenuity of some of those with whom we were brought in contact, has led us to discover the unpleasant picture drawn of ourselves, and the astonishment experienc-

ed on finding out the difference between the picture and the reality.

To a number of pupils, teachers, inspectors &c of "non-sectarian" schools I would say: Recall, my good friends, what you have heard, said, and thought yourselves about Catholics: what you read in your schools and libraries and after a pause of a moment, I leave to yourselves to judge if the system practiced in such schools is in reality "non-sectarian."

I do not wonder at the erroneous impression made by the term "Non-Sectarian," many people have been caught in the snare before the system was unmasked by experience, it deceived a certain number who, later, have had reason to deeply regret the harm it had done to their children. The tree is known by its fruit, and the fruit produced by what many call "our admirable Tystem of Public Schools" has been, in cases too frequent alas, forgetfulness of God and of Revelation, or the *Sectarianism of no Religion*. In other cases, where the logical and ulterior consequences were not drawn, the end aimed at was obtained and resulted in the *Sectarianism of a particular Denomination* and in both cases the institution has incited hatred or at least indifference for Catholicism. Therefore the reader should not wonder that Catholics who prize their faith above every earthly consideration, oppose the establishment of a syttem manifestly injurious to their dearest interests. It is nothing surprising that the love of such parents for their children prompts them to do all in their power to see that their faith shall be in safety against tendencies of a system the very name of which is EVIDENTLY FALLACIOUS.

2. A system of schools, if really "non-sectarian," would be impossible in our midst and such impossibility would be owing to the character of our people, and to the nature of the system in itself.

The very fact of our being a christian and free people elucidates the proofs of the relative impossibility of the system, for a christian people can neither desire nor maintain a plan of which the ulterior and unavoidable result would be forgetful-

ness or ignorance of God no more than a free people can become the supporters of a scheme, by its nature, odious and tyrannical.

To discover the fundamental idea of the system in question, we must go back to the old Lacedæmonian plan which substituted the State for the family which it destroyed, snatching the child from the arms of its mother to train it from its infancy for a soldier or a slave of the Republic. Cruelty on the one hand, ignorance on the other were the natural fruits of the laws established by Lycurgus. But if the domineering plan of Lacedæmon—the same that brought about its ruin—seems a source too distant and indirect of the system of Public Schools, no one can deny its affinity with what has come to pass in civilized countries for a century. Voltaire, the enemy of God, and of his fellow-beings undertook to wage war against the christian religion which he called "*l'Infame*." The monster found many admirers in France, in England, in Germany and elsewhere. Allured by the novelty and still more by the passions it favored, the north-west of Europe acclaimed Voltaire, and the impious sect of which he was the corypheus, at one time thought they had the mastery of minds and hearts. Sovereigns readily acquiesced to a system that favored, at the while luxury and oppression, and the people easily found therein an incitement to revolt and plunder. "La belle France" whose misfortune it was to have fostered the monster suffered more than any country from the pestiferous utterances falling from the filthy lips of the foul fiend. The French followers of Voltaire, with their impetuous nature, logical minds and facility to draw the natural results of a doctrine for which they had become impassioned, rushed into the area of destruction, inspired by their leader, with a fury that was not to be arrested. Voltaire was the soul of 93. A saintly king was beheaded. The martyrdom of the rich, the nobility and the clergy renewed the scenes of pagan amphitheatres where the blood of Christians freely flowed. The altars of the true God were trampled-upon and an infatuated and senseless people knelt before a prostitute they styled "*la Déesse Raison*," (Goddess Reason).

Weary with destroying, glutted with blood and plunder, it is no wonder that the disciples of Voltaire became the followers of Lycurgus, and as such violated the sacred precinct of family, and with a display of brute force, proclaimed themselves the State Omnipotent, with absolute power to lay hold on youth and divert it from all religious instruction in order to mould it according to the horrid morals they had just proclaimed, and which was subsequently known as Socialism and Communism. They awoke the notion that the State can be the sole judge of the instruction to be given to children. Masses become as tyrannical as individuals; in that respect number signifies nothing, except it may be said that the tyranny of the multitude is often blinder and more cruel than that of the individual.

Napoleon the first appeared among the ruins heaped up by the tyranny of the multitude. As a despot himself, he thought that he could rule more freely keeping a fast hold on youth, hence his system of "universitaire" education without religion or "*non-sectarian*." The genius of Napoleon I. restored many ruins and shined brightly as a soldier; unfortunately, he nourished the poisonous seed planted by Voltaire. This fault hurried his downfall as well as that of the two dynasties which, after him and like him, were not wise enough to smother the modern hydra of instruction without religion.

Napoleon III. at a later period, found at Sedan the proof of the folly of a Sovereign who believes that a rising generation can be educated without God. Soon after, the "Communards" educated by the International in schools without religious instruction, the "Communards," readers of infidel newspapers, partizans of the "Educational League" whose motto is, "spread of education without religion," the hideous Communards of Paris came by the blazing light of the finest capital of the world in flames to prove the real value of the system of enlightenment of the age and the influence of modern civilization on those trained in "*non-sectarian*" schools. For, it must be remembered, they did not act in a way to strike the universe with horror, not

because they could not read as it has been said. No, such is not the case; they had, on the contrary, accepted the teaching of the "Educational eague" which says through one of its organs: "Religion is useless as an instrument for forming the minds of the young."

A few non-sectarian schools having caused such misfortunes in France, it is easy to foresee that the ruin would have been complete had the system been generalized. What saved France and permitted re-torations still more astonishing than its downfall, is that by far the greater number of children are educated in christian schools. Meanwhile the misfortunes of that great nation are a lesson for itself and for others of the awful consequences entailed by the pernicious system, which tends to develop the intellect without strengthening the heart and preparing it for the struggles awaiting it.

The Solidaires of Belgium, the Carbonaries of Italy endeavor to drive their respective countries towards the abyss in which the philosophers have sunk in France and of which the International threatens Europe and America.

Such is the origin and such are the consequences of the famous modern system of schools called "Non-Sectarian."

France is not the only country that reaps the disastrous consequences of studying in a false direction. The friends of Germany are truly afraid of the spread of Rationalism and irreligion in the father-land, and that among the higher classes, who receive their education in schools from which religious teaching is banished. In Germany the Common and *Elementary Schools* are *denominational*, so the body of the nation receive religious instruction and are not exposed to the misfortunes of the upper classes.

Modern England has been guarded against national commotions, because its people are not so easily fascinated by empty theories; and kind Providence rewards the country, because they who govern it, willingly and publicly affirm their religious convictions. Nevertheless, we must confess that

aristocracy of learning as well as of rank and fortune, are also stepping fast towards infidelity.

The misfortunes of France have naturally awakened a feeling of alarm among its noble neighbors and determined an enquiry into the mode of education given to the sons of those who now direct public affairs and public minds.

The House of Lords appointed a Select Committee "to enquire into the condition of English Universities." The Marquis of Salisbury was the chairman. The evidence taken before that committee "reveals the appalling fact that infidelity or doubt as to the first principles of religion, nay, of belief in God, is widespread in the universities of England; and especially among the most intellectual of the students; and that this sad result is due in a great measure to the teaching and examinations. In the first report of the session of 1871, in the evidence of the Rev. Professor Leddon, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's and Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford, we find the following passage, in answer to question 706: "Cases have come within my own experience of men who have come up from school as Christians, and have been earnest Christians up to the time of beginning to read philosophy for the Final School, but who, during the year and a-half or two years employed in this study, have surrendered first their Christianity, and next their belief in God, and have left the university *not believing in a Supreme Being.*"

Such a revelation with regard to the high education in the Mother Country naturally recalls the words of the Royal Prophet: "And now, O ye kings, understand: receive instruction, you that judge the earth."

From the above mentioned facts it is easy to argue as follows: If such are the results of a partial education among certain classes of European society, what can be expected if the entirely secular system were imposed on our school population? The elite of English students, after all the instruction given at home, at school and at church, cannot resist the deleterious influence of one or two years of the study of philosophy without God, in the university

of Oxford and others, and become infidel. How can it be expected that American youth will resist the pernicious tendencies of the system, if its whole education be based thereon, and if all classes of society be educated in accordance with it in all the branches of learning?

True, an ocean separates America from Europe; but what has shaken European communities on their basis, that is to say, *education without religion*, cannot help being felt on this side of the Atlantic.

I will say in another article what the system has already produced in the social line in America. Suffice, just now to show the relation of the general system of "non-sectarian" schools in the United States with the one which has been so hurtful to France—though only partially applied—and which seems to gradually prepare the ruin of other countries.

It is an error to believe that the actual school system of the neighboring republic is as old as the Republic itself, the cause of its prosperity and the secret of the prodigious development of the United States. Such is not the case. For more than half a century the "*Stripes and Stars*" protected *Denominational schools*.

The strong-minded men who gave to the United States of America the start and direction that have made them so prosperous, had acquired in *Denominational schools* the knowledge of secular branches of education, *a one with that religious instruction* which is indispensable to form good citizens and true patriots.

Mr. O. A. Brownson, in his book "The Convert," gives the following information on the origin of the Public Schools in the United States:

"Fanny Wright was born in Scotland and inherited considerable property. She had been highly educated, and was a woman of original powers and extensive and varied information. She was brought up in the Utilitarian principles of Jeremy Bentham. She visited the United States in 1824, and returned to England in 1825. She came back the next year, to try an experiment for the emancipation of the negro slave.

"Fanny Wright, however, failed in her negro experiment, but decided on a radical reform of the American people themselves.

"The first step to be taken for this purpose, was to rouse the American mind to a sense of its rights and dignity, to emancipate it from superstition, from its subjection to the clergy, and its *fear of unseen powers*; to withdraw it from the contemplation of the stars or *IMAGINARY heaven after death*, and fix it on the great and glorious work of promoting *man's earthly well being*.

"The great measure, however, on which Fanny and her friends relied for ultimate success, was *the system of Public Schools*. These schools were intended to deprive, as well as to relieve, parents of all care and responsibility of their children after a year or two years of age. It was assumed that parents were, in general, incompetent to train up their children, provide proper establishments, teachers and governors for them, till they should reach the age of maturity.

"The aim was, on the one hand to relieve marriage of its burdens, and to remove the principal reasons for making it *indissoluble*; and, on the other hand, to provide for bringing up all children, in a rational manner, to be reasonable men or women, that is *free from superstition, free from all belief in God and immortality*; free from all regard for the invisible, and make them to look upon *this life as their only life*, this earth as their only home, and the *promotion of their earthly interests and enjoyments as their only end*. The three great enemies to earthly happiness were held to be *religion, marriage, or family and private property*. Once get rid of these three institutions, and we hope soon to realize our earthly paradise. For *religion* is to be substituted *science*, that is, science of the world, of the five senses only; for *private property*, a *community of goods*, and for *private families*, a *community of wives*.

"Fanny Wright and her school saw clearly that their principles could not be carried into practice in the present state of society. So they proposed them to be adopted only by a future generation, trained and prepared in a system of schools found-

“ed and prepared by the public, They placed their
 “dependence on education *in a system of Public*
 “*Schools*, managed after a plan of William Phique-
 “pal, a Frenchman, and subsequently the husband
 “of Fanny Wright.

“In order to get their system of schools adopted,
 “they proposed to organize the whole union, se-
 “cretly, very much on the plan of the Carbonari of
 “Europe. The members of this secret society were
 “to avail themselves of all means in their power,
 “each in his own locality, to form public opinion
 “*in favor of education by the State at the public*
 “*expense*, and to get such men elected to the Legis-
 “*lature* as would be likely to favor their purposes.
 “This secret organization commenced in the State
 “of New York, and was to extend over the whole
 “Union. Mr. C. A. Brownson was one of the
 “agents for organizing the State of New York.
 “He however became tired of the work and aban-
 “doned it after a few months.”

Such was the aim in preparing the plan of the
Public Schools of the United States. My readers
 as well as myself have the “*fear of unseen powers*,”
 they have no desire “*to withdraw their minds from*
the contemplation of stars or heaven after death,”
 they have no inclination to rear their children “*free*
from all belief in God and immortality.” So I am
 satisfied that it suffices for them to know the *real*
 object of this system to repudiate it.

Even the famous system would show me “*all*
the kingdoms of the word and the glory of them,”
 and say: “*all this will I give thee* : . . .” I would
 answer: “*Be gone Satan, for it is written: The*
Lord thy God thou shalt adore, and him only shalt
thou serve.”

Thank God, I am a Christian! I repulse the
 views of Fanny Wright, as I do away with those
 of her grand-father, Voltaire; of her cousins and
 friends, the “philosophers,” the “Solidaires,” the
 “Carbonari,” the “International,” the “Commun-
 nards,” etc. etc. I have no sympathy for a system
 praised by all those miscreants, though by them all
 termed “non-sectarian.” And as I know my
 fellow citizens also, thank Heaven, for being

Christians, I have no hesitation in saying, the *system* is IMPOSSIBLE in our midst.

Another reason of the impossibility of the said system is that we are free. Yes, Canadians, we cannot rejoice too much, knowing and feeling that we are in a free country, in a country where true and real liberty is enjoyed perhaps to a fuller extent than in any other country of the world. We have surely more real liberty than our neighbors across the line; and in some respects we are more free here than the English people are on the banks of the Thames.

The Treaty of Peace of 1763, was for Canada the starting point, the basis of the religious liberty it enjoys; liberty of which Canadians of all origins are so proud and so jealous. Ever since, Canadians have achieved one by one all the civil and political rights they enjoy.

The above insertion is nothing new for those who, together with the knowledge of the history of our country enjoy the faculty possessed by all serious minds to notice the connection between consequences and their principle, and to turn back from the effect to the cause. At all events, the fact of our liberty exists and is highly appreciated by every one. We are free and being so I do not fear to be mistaken in saying that the permanent establishment of the system of education which I discuss is impossible amongst us.

The most populous Province had to modify the attempts made in that direction; and it is easy to foresee that the momentary success in the establishment of said system in other Provinces cannot be lasting.

The very word, religious oppression is repugnant to Canadians. The State itself must respect the conscience of even one individual. This is his birthright, and cannot be voted away for the support of public schools or of public churches.

Observe that the introduction of the so-called "non-sectarian" system, violates the conscience not only of an individual, but of the half of the population of the Dominion. The Catholics, and many others with them, consider the system as dangerous, opposed to their faith and of a nature to shake that

of their children, therefore they repudiate it on conscientious grounds. The conviction is so widely known that it is astonishing to find men endowed with common sense, denying that such is the case.

I do not discuss, just now, the reason of such conviction on the part of the opponents of the system. I merely establish its existence as a matter of fact.

The last official censuses of the different provinces, with the exception of British Columbia, show the Catholic population of the whole Dominion to be 1,527,923, and the non-Catholic 2,050,010. So, in the Dominion, taken as a whole, Catholics are in a proportion of 3 to 4 non-Catholics; that is to say, not very far from the half of the whole *Christian* population of the country. Besides, that denomination numbers three times as many adherents as the most numerous of the other denominations in the Dominion. Well, *is it possible* to force upon such a large portion of the community a system of education declared by the same—and they are the only judges of their conviction—as contrary to their conscience, and in the meantime, to boast of praising religious freedom? No, such a course is impossible except with those who are ready to say in one way and act in another.

Religious liberty is not the only one at stake in the matter. Civil liberty has also a close connection with the subject. Opponents to the proposed scheme are citizens as well as its supporters. The former contribute their share to the prosperity of the country, supply the treasury, bear public charges and are ready to give their lives for the defense of the national flag. Again I repeat, they are citizens as well as others. Why then think of depriving them of the benefit of a public system of education? It is well known that the Catholics, as a body, will derive no advantage from the proposed scheme, and the plan depends for its maintenance on the support of public money in which Catholics contribute as well as their fellow-citizens, and on the very assessments levied on Catholic property as well as on others.

Is there any justice in all that? Is there any notion of civil liberty in creating a system such,

that nearly the half of the population can derive no advantage from it, and forcing the same population to incur the half of the expenses of the system?

Suppose a district where there were ten upholders of your system and ten Catholics on an equal standing, but the latter repudiating the system. What will be the result? The ten upholders, the law in hand, will erect school houses of *their taste and choice*, receive the government grant proportional to their number and have their taxes. But the advantage siding with them does not end here. They will, moreover, get the government grant proportional to the number of Catholics in the district, they will compel the same Catholics to pay their school taxation and the whole of the above money will be at the disposal and for the benefit of the upholders of the system, while the ten Catholics who, *on conscientious grounds*, cannot profit by the plan, will have neither schools nor their share of the public funds, nor even their own assessment.

Is all this the liberty of which all are so jealous? Is all this the application of the principle of "Equal Rights?" Is all this fair play which all the subjects of Her Majesty, without distinction of creed or nationality can claim?

Read, please, what Judge Taft of Ohio said referring to the wrong done to Catholics who cannot, in conscience, send their children to the so-called "non-sectarian schools."

"This is too large a circumstance to be covered by the Latin phrase '*De minimis non curat lex*.'" "These Catholics—paying their proportion of the taxes—are constrained every year, on conscientious grounds, to yield to others their right to one third of the school money, a sum averaging at the present time about \$200,000 every year. That is to say, these people are *punished* every year, for believing as they do, to the extent of \$200,000; and to that extent those of us who send our children to these excellent common schools *become beneficiaries of the Catholic money*. What a shame for Protestants to have their children educated from money robbed from Catholics! "Mercantile life is supposed to cultivate in some, a

"relish for hard bargains. But if it were a business matter, and not a matter of religious concern, could business men be found willing to exact such a pecuniary advantage as this? I think it would shock the secular conscience."

Observe, please, that while repelling the injustice, *we ask for no privilege nor favor*. We ask to remain free in our religious convictions, and to not be deprived of our rights as citizens "on the plea" that some consider such convictions as "fallacious." We are confident that they who breathe the same atmosphere of liberty as we do, they who are sincere while proclaiming equal rights for all, will unite with us in pronouncing the system which would hinder the benefit of education for nearly the half of the population, *an impossibility* in our midst.

I go still further and say that a system of education which would be *in reality* as well as *in name* "non-sectarian," which would neither affirm nor deny any notion whatever of any belief, which would contain nothing in conformity with or against christianism, I say that such a system is a radical impossibility.

To have the pretention to instruct without teaching either directly or indirectly, even in an incidental manner, anything religious or irreligious, is one of those whims or utopias aimed at only by unsound minds, worked upon by people with special views such as Fanny Wright, and accepted solely by those who are deceived by the name, or who do not detect the result.

How can any one educate without inculcating something partaking of the supernatural or opposing it? Instruction in all the branches of knowledge, to the exclusion of the one which ought to direct all others is an impossibility. People may dream as long as they like, without finding a way to educate a child while leaving it in such ignorance and indifference that it could neither affirm nor deny the existence of a Supreme Being, the end of man, the wisdom of Providence or any religious theory. It is impossible even to conceive a whole system of instruction so inert as to allow such ignorance, otherwise instruction would result in ren-

dering those under its nurture more stupid than those deprived of any culture whatsoever.

Such an endeavor would be an effort to develop intellect by depriving it of the breath of intellectual life imparted by the Author of our existence.

Once more, I repeat, the scheme is an impossibility, simply because the teacher is a rational being; that children themselves are endowed with reason; and that it is impossible to bring an intelligent youth in contact with the visible world without inspiring reflections that lead to one of the convictions believed and taught by some one of the sects that claim to direct human intellect.

To educate is to perfectionate. But man is created to the image and likeness of God: and how can any one perfectionate the image without approaching it to the model?

What is science, except a participation, in a very inferior degree it is true, but to a certain extent, of the knowledge God has of Himself, of what He has done, of the laws He has prescribed for sensible beings and imposed on inanimate nature. Therefore, far from God there is no real knowledge.

"For of Him, in Him and by Him are all things."

Any teaching exhibiting the marvels of creation, without any mention of its Author, without looking for the first cause of what is seen and learned, without any religious notion, such a teaching is not only dangerous and criminal, but is so incomplete that it cannot be called the culture of intellect.

The Journal of Commerce of New York, formerly a violent opponent of Catholic views with regard to education, although as staunch a Protestant as ever says in its issue of 11th May 1870:

"Where the Common School system won its chiefest laurels, and achieved its highest success, all scholastic learning was based upon the fundamental truths of religion, because without the sanction of religion there can be no proper training of the young in any branch of instruction. It is all in vain to say that geography, arithmetic, grammar, history, botany etc., may be taught as sciences without any necessary connection to religion true or false; and that the baptism of faith

"can be given to all these acquirements by the exercise in the family and at the church, having no mutual relations with the school room.

"The mind is not governed by laws which allow for such separation and distinctions. Good men will come to acknowledge this in time."

To educate, a teacher must have ideas, appreciations, convictions on what he teaches. He cannot be an automaton, a scientific mechanism, able to turn out so many words by the hour, without connecting the ideas expressed, and without even looking for the sense of the words; without shrinking or feeling, or without imparting to others what he does or does not believe. If he has no conviction he is not what he ought to be; if he has convictions without expressing them, he is mocking at himself or at those who employ him.

I append the following quotation from Doctor Anderson, one of the prominent men of the Baptist Church in the United States:

"It is impossible for an earnest teacher to avoid giving out constantly religious and moral impulses in thought. He must of necessity set forth his notions about God, the soul, the conscience, sin, the future life and Divine Revelation."

"If he promises not to do so, he will fail to keep his word or his teachings in science, or literature, or history will be miserably shallow and inadequate. Our notion of God and the moral order form, in spite of ourselves, the base line which affects all our movements and constructions of science, literature and history. Induction in physics, classification in Natural History, necessitate a living law, eternal in the thought of God All instruction enfolding the laws of science, literature and History should be permeated with the warmth and light and glory of the Incarnate Redeemer."

"Incidental instruction in morality and religion ought to be the main reliance of the Christian teacher. The ends of a Christian school while working by its own laws and limitations, ought not to be essentially different from a Christian church."

"The principles we have thus indicated are universal in their application. If the Christian teacher must make the elements of his religious faith color all his teaching, the same must be true of the unchristian teacher. If parents wish their children educated in Christian principles, they must seek out honest Christian men to be their teachers."

There is not a single educated and sincere Catholic, from His Holiness the Sovereign Pontiff down to the humblest village school-master, who does not agree with the above opinion; or rather, the learned Doctor is among the numerous intelligent Protestants who take the Catholic views with regard to education, and who say with us, a system purely and entirely unsectarian is nothing but a delusion.

The Reverend A. A. Mayo, Unitarian minister of Cincinnati, does not hesitate to ridicule as follows the ideas of those who believe in the possibility of such a plan:

"It is easy to elaborate a secular theory of education in the closet, where an ideal boy can be placed in a spiritual vacuum, and developed according to an exclusive mental system. Now, the effort to control and educate such a miniature republic on secular or purely intellectual principles, is a job compared with which harnessing Niagara to turn the spindles of a cotton mill would be a cheerful enterprise. To say that the teacher does not need every resource of religious and moral power to govern and educate children is to mock at all educational experience and declare ourselves utterly ignorant of human life."

All things speak so loudly of God as having been made by Him, that it is impossible to study outside of Him without sliding towards the abysses into which materialists and atheists have sunk. For a Christian country such as ours everything is connected with Christian doctrine. The very atmosphere we breathe seems to be embalmed with the sweet perfumes of faith. To silence that faith is to fall into *Rationalism*, and to try to avoid both in teaching is to reduce the sublime art to an impossibility.

But some of the supporters of the system will say: All this is nonsense. The system exists, therefore it is possible, and reason teaches that "*ab actu ad posse valet consecutio*." No, gentlemen, your system exists nowhere, because here is what occurs in practice:

In the countries where the system has been established there are three broad currents of thought: the Catholic, the Protestant and the Infidel thought. Now, I say that your system, as indicated by its name, is so radically impossible, that where its establishment has been attempted it has necessarily fallen into one of the three currents of thought here mentioned. The system cannot fail to bring about one of the results that it pretends to avoid.

In school districts of the United States, entirely Catholic, the trustees having the choice of teachers and of books as well as the direction of the school, such institutions become in reality, and for all purposes, Catholic schools while retaining the name of "Common schools," and this accounts for Catholics not opposing the system under such circumstances.

A similar fact, but of more frequent occurrence, is observed in purely Protestant districts; and in certain States, most of the schools become in reality and for all purposes Protestant schools, while retaining the name of "Common" or "non-sectarian schools," and this explains the zeal displayed for the establishment and maintenance of such schools.

Where the "Common schools" are neither Catholic nor Protestant, they are so many nurseries of infidelity; and the United States reap the bitter fruits of the system, viewing, as every one does, the alarming increase in the number of those who have no practical religion.

Therefore there is nothing real in the teaching in an unsectarian sense, because the scheme in that light is an IMPOSSIBILITY.

3. Even if the system were possible it is not desirable.

After what has been said above, it is undoubtedly shown that the system in question is not desirable. I will, however, add a few reflexions under this head, for the subject is far from being exhausted.

I said in the first paragraph of this article that the name given to the system is essentially false. But even were it proposed, as it should be, under the qualification non-Catholic or non-Christian, that would not render it more desirable. Because the new appellation, while indicating the tendencies of the scheme, would merely corroborate what has been said in opposing it, and would be, as it were, the synthesis of the whole of my argument.

I have subsequently said that a plan of education really and absolutely outside of any sect whatsoever would, by its nature, be radically impossible. But, from this it cannot be concluded that, should the working of the system be made possible by rallying it now to one sect and then to another, such possibility would make it desirable. I go still further and say that, even if the relative impossibility which I have pointed out, would disappear, and the system be accepted, this would not make me desire to see it thrive. I would not relish the system any better, but I would dread it still more, were our population so unchristian as to favorably accept it; and if the feeling and love of liberty weakened to such a degree that the majority would advocate the servitude.

It is to the family and not to the State that the education of youth is confided. From the beginning God established the family among men: "male and female he created them. And God blessed them saying, Increase and multiply." To the husband and wife he commanded love and indissoluble union: "This now is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" and "They shall be two in one flesh," and "What therefore God hath joined together let no man put asunder." To children he commanded obedience, love and respect for parents. "Honor thy father and thy mother." To parents heads of families, he gave imprescriptible rights, together with obligations which no power can lessen. And among these obligations is that of parents to provide for, and direct the education of their children: "*Hast thou children, instruct them*" and "*He that teacheth his son maketh his enemy jealous.*"

This is the personal obligation of parents ; they can entrust it to another only when they are certain that the instruction given will be in accordance with what it requires of them ; and that the souls of their children, for which they must answer, will not be exposed to any noxious influence, nor deprived of any of the helps to be expected from education.

Such is the established order, and such order necessarily rejects the theory that ascribes to the State the right to invade the sacred precinct of family and then to exercise absolute power. This theory is a relict of paganism, the principle of slavery, and cannot be countenanced among those who enjoy the liberty of the children of God.

If the State should be master of the child, why should it not be that of the mother ? If it has right to become a substitute for the father, who will prevent it from replacing the husband ? If it has the right to compel parents to send their children to a special school, it may also hinder their being instructed at all. This is what Lycurgus did. If the State has the absolute control of the school, it can also claim that of the church, just as the Czar of Russia and the Chancellor of Prussia pretend and endeavor to do. If the State has the right to prohibit religious teaching, it has an equal right to prescribe irreligious teaching. Such is the case in certain universities of Europe. If the State has a right to prevent children from acknowledging the true God, during a certain number of hours, days and years, it has also the right to enjoin the adoration of false gods, and thus the State did ordain for centuries, by condemning to the most cruel tortures millions of the disciples of Jesus Christ whose only crime was to believe that they who govern, as well as they that are governed, should submit to the King of Kings.

What is said and written every day shows clearly that what I advance here will be easily misconstrued. Strange ! one cannot affirm the rights of God, without being accused by certain parties, of being hostile to the State. just as though God and State were irreconcilable enemies and the two masters that cannot be served at a time. On the con-

trary, one is so much the more loyal to the State that he is more mindful of his duties towards his Maker. Society has nothing to fear from those who uphold the rights of God and of truth. Because any society well-established will find its security in the conviction of all its members that they are dependent on God as their sole and absolute master, and that there is no true liberty without Him.

Christian teaching alone can effectually check the natural tendency of man to the abuse of power as well as of liberty. To establish the rights of God is, no doubt, to define the duties of man. But it is in the meantime, teaching the latter his rights to the noblest freedom. Christian doctrine guards society against the thralldom into which it had been plunged by pagan Cæsarism; and guards it also against socialistic licence which is worse than paganism itself.

The religion I profess teaches me "*There is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained by God.*" This doctrine surrounds all authority lawfully established and lawfully exercised, with a prestige which no worldly consideration can inspire in the same degree.

But, in the meantime, the same doctrine, reminds me that all men are created to the image and likeness of Him who is the Being infinitely free and independent, and who decks the brow of all those redeemed by the blood of the Saviour, with a halo of glory peculiar to the enjoyment of the freedom of children of God.

It was while studying and witnessing the application of the above doctrine that the celebrated Protestant Guizot said: "*Catholic Church is the greatest school of respect.*" Respect to every human being, respect to every legitimate authority.

Having myself been brought up in that school, it is far, very far, from my desire to fail in the respect due to the State; and even to the respect due to any fellow-men. Because, in the State I see, a ray of the supreme dominion of God, and in every man a type of His infinite freedom. This respect for others I have for myself; and while I am the obedient servant of the State I decline to become

its slave. This doctrine, if well understood, can surely displease neither the State nor my fellow-subjects. If, on the one hand, I repudiate the pagan teaching which finished by the aptheoses of Cæsar, I cordially adhere to the Christian teaching which says: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars."

Having established the principles by which I am guided, I hope not to be misunderstood when I say that it is not desirable that the State should disturb the peace and freedom of families, in coercing in one way or another the surrender of the children to be educated according to the dictates of the State, and against the wish and desire of parents who have at heart the accomplishment of their duty. To impose in the matter a system which grieves the conscience, is undoubtedly a tyrannical act.

The followers of John Knox have preserved to the present day, some of the ideas he had retained of his Catholic training. Not only have they struggled in the old countries, to prevent the encroachment of the State, endeavoring to submit them to the religion established by law, but, in many instances, even in America, they have raised an energetic protest against the State endeavoring to impose upon them schools established by law. Among others the Rev. John C. Lord, Presbyterian clergyman of Buffalo made use of the following language: "God has not committed to governments the work of education. The civil magistrate has other duties to perform, has no divine warrant to turn teacher or to superintend education. This is not a matter to be passed at the polls. What right has the State to educate my child? The State may administer justice, build canals and railroads, incorporate banks and perform civil functions, but it has no right to establish a system of Public Schools which compels in fact, the great mass of the community to have their children educated there or not at all. I wish my children educated in the nurture and admonition of the Lord and not in the nurture of the State. So do Christians in general if the truth were known. But the State throws obstacles in the way by its taxation and its great public establishments."

On the same subject, and to show that it is not desirable that the State dictate in matters of education, the Honorable Garritt Smith expresses himself as follows:

"It (the State) is certainly no more fit to have a part in shaping and controlling the school, than in shaping and controlling the church, and the sound arguments against its meddling with the church are in the main, sound arguments against its meddling with the school * * * * No less is it the parents right to choose the kind of school than the kind of church for his children. Many Protestants are content with no school which is not positively and directly a religious one. Hence their opposition to the government school which rests on an evil compromise, a compromise requiring the elimination from the school of all religion and use of all Bibles. * * * * Just here let me say that the school is far worse than worthless, which taking a child in its most plastic age, declines nevertheless to have a part in framing its religious character."

It is not only undesirable that the State assume the duties of parents in controlling the schools, in a way offensive to the convictions of such parents, but it is moreover certain that such control has the most deplorable results, because the system, instead of preparing the heart and the mind of the children to look to the end for which they are made, on the contrary, predisposes them to busy themselves solely about material pursuits and renders them very unscrupulous as to the means to be employed in securing what they desire.

The *New York World* says:—"The truth is that the mistake of means in our system of education arises from a perversion of ends. Our school system answers much more nearly than those of older countries to what are considered by modern men the chief end of man in our time. That end is to get on in life, to make money, and to gain what money brings. To that purpose the present system is entirely adequate."

The State, while assuming the duty of educating children and forcing, at least by taxation, parents to accept its views, acknowledges its own incompe-

tency. It claims no control over the soul and, nevertheless, it wishes to get hold of all the faculties which are the handmaids of the soul. The avowal that the State has nothing to do with the direction of religion, is the best proof that it is not desirable to submit the instruction of a rising generation to its absolute control. Fortunately, here in this our country, every one admits the necessity of religious training to model the heart and to strengthen the will. But the State declines having any desire or authority to impart that religious education though instructing the child at the very and only time at which it is possible to do so. Therefore it must be admitted that it is not desirable that the State go so far as to hurt the consciences of parents, who are anxious for the religious instruction to be given to their offspring.

It seems to me that it does not require very close observation to become convinced that a youth, who would have gone through all the course of instruction, which it is claimed ought to be given in public schools, and who in the same schools would never have heard a word about religion, would be in reality completely ignorant of what he ought to know, and, in many instances, averse to it. As the opinion I oppose is said—though improperly—to be one dear to Protestant, I know the reader will not find fault with me for quoting freely from eminent Protestants of the United States, the only place where the experiment has been thoroughly made.

Rev. Mr. Young, pastor of the Presbyterian congregation in Warsaw, New York, wrote to Mr. Morgan, Superintendant of common schools: "The Presbyterian congregation in this town, regarding the State plan of common school education as incompetent to secure that moral training of their children, which is indispensable to a proper direction and use of intellectual faculties—established, some eighteen months since, within the bounds of School District, No. 10, a parochial school, to be instructed by such teachers only as profess religion. . . . In the progress of our schools we find that evangelical religious truths sanctifies education as well as all other things

"with which it is connected; and that our children have made more rapid and effective progress in intellectual attainments than formerly—but the 'Free School Law' passed by our last Legislature has invaded our sanctuary, and we fear is about to thwart our purposes.

"We might have supposed that these principles of toleration would secure to the religious denominations respectively the privilege of worshipping God according to their respective views, and which excuse them from supporting those of a contrary belief; that these principles would at least allow them the same toleration in the education of our children. But such toleration is now by legislative enactment denied us; while we are subjected to such onerous taxes for the support of common schools, as are equivalent to an actual prohibition from carrying out our views conscientiously entertained."

A Rev. Mr. Jones, of the Methodist Church of Iliou, says: " The teacher should not have to deal with the intellect alone. The State, in assuming to act *in loco parentis*, could not refuse to take care of the spiritual education of the children. Teachers must not be allowed to substitute the demoralizing doubtings of irreverent speculation for the grand saving truths of divine inspiration."

In a report of the Superintendent of public Instruction to a general assembly in Iowa, the Hon. A. S. Kissell discussed as follows: "The painful fact is, that the great mass of instruction now provided our youth—except perhaps the rambling and imperfect methods adopted in our Sabbath schools—is a practical denial of our national religion. We may listen all day to the exercises of any of our most efficient schools, and hear often enough excellent advice given to the pupils with reference to the importance of a generous, noble and virtuous character; we may be satisfied that the rules and discipline of the school are administered in such a way as to secure habits of order, industry and good behaviour; but we cannot help feeling that essentially the same feat have been achieved at ancient Athens, as in our modern

"Boston which stands so conspicuously as a representative city of Christendom. Somehow here, in this nursery of our nation, in the public schools, a perpetual libel is filed against the religion we adopt. Must these schools have no higher standard than refined heathenism could furnish? . . . will it not be ill-timed and futile to urge upon the adult, that of which, during all the years of his early training, he heard nothing, and which was so effectually denied or ignored in the course of his training, that he would not have known that the formation of his character had any conceivable dependence on such an influence."

All such opinions—which as far as our subject is concerned are but one with mine—can surprise nobody, even had it never been previously expressed in every way. A reflecting Christian may easily become convinced how defective and undesirable a system of education is, which shuts the doors of schools against religion, both for teachers and pupils. The result must necessarily be fatal to the very intellect you wish to develop. The child is an intelligent being; his supple and plastic mind is perfectly adapted to receive any teaching, even in the most incidental mode. A wink, a smile, a motion of the head or of the lips, anything in fact on the part of the teacher is apt to produce a deep impression on the mind of an intelligent child. What, on the other hand, would be the fate of the same child, if, instead of even an indirect teaching, he observes in his master the most complete reserve or the most entire indifference with regard to religion?

The breath of the Supreme Intelligence has endowed the children of men with "a living soul."

That soul, to live and develop itself, requires food, and the food of the soul is the "*teaching of the mystery of God the Father, and of Christ Jesus, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.*"

As far as your system goes you deprive the young of those divine treasures of knowledge and wisdom. You shut their eyes to "*the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.*" You place the youthful intellect in a "spiritual

vacuum," where everything is darkness, doubt, ignorance. And what will you give it as a compensation? Human knowledge. Alas! "*But all men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God.*"

What is your human knowledge or secular instruction? Arithmetic, history, geography, etc., etc.

Well, let us try the teaching of such branches without any reference whatsoever to anything religious:

Teacher—What is ARITHMETIC?

Pupil—The science of numbers.

T.—Give the first numbers.

P.—One, two, three, four, five, six, etc.

T.—Give examples of the use of numbers.

P.—There is *one* God, there are *two* testaments, there are *three* persons in God.

T.—Mind what you say, my child, that is sectarian.

P. (disturbed)—There are *three* sacraments.

T.—Hush! that also is sectarian.

P. (still more disturbed)—There are seven *sac* . . .

T. (hastily)—You are getting confused, my child; you are a new comer; you have received sectarian instruction; the next will show you how to answer.

Another pupil—There is *one* horse in the stable, there are *two* buggies in the shed, *three* eggs in my bosket.

T.—That's the boy that understands the system. And once for all let it be remembered that you are in a "non-sectarian" school, and that nothing of religion can be heard within these walls.

(Apart)—Poor children! that's the first blow to their faith.

Yes, many a Christian became an infidel, their faith having received the first blow in a class of arithmetic, or the teaching of the positive sciences, which seem, at first glance, the least capable of diverting a reasonable being from the knowledge and love of God.

Is it desirable to teach HISTORY without the mention of God? "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." This is the beginning and the origin of all history. What will the teacher do who cannot make mention of the Creator of all

things? Fearing to be sectarian, his embarrassment will increase when, coming to another period of the history of the human race he reads: ". . . . the angel said to them . . . This day is born to you "a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord."

Please, Mister Teacher, a boy may say, what is an angel? What is a Saviour? Why call him Christ?

Teacher—Silence! this school is not sectarian. I have already told you not to expect I will teach you religion.

Strange, deplorable teaching of history, which will mention the adorable name of God with the same indifference as that of Jupiter; which has no more to say about the sweet and beloved name of Jesus, true son of the Eternal, than about that of Mars, fictitious son of the imaginary king of Olympus.

How hurtful the teaching of history has been without the help of revealed truth!

GEOGRAPHY is a description of our globe, of its inhabitants and its productions. To be complete, this science must make mention of the origin of the earth, of the formation of seas and rivers. It cannot remain silent about the lessons which necessarily flow from the study of the variety of the products we admire. Geographers cannot be satisfied with the mere mention of the names of different nations. They must describe their moral and religious condition. Well, all this is impossible *on a just and true stand-point*, unless the Spirit of God move over the intelligence of those who seek such information, as He in the beginning, moved on the surface of the deep, from which He formed what constitutes the principal object of geography.

The undesirability of the system that excludes religion from its teaching, becomes still more apparent when we advance in our studies. Without the help imparted through divine knowledge, men may partly acquire what they call science, but they cannot help having false and unenviable notions. From the first to the last word of any science there is room for divine truth and revealed learning. Even the very knowledge of the alphabet is conducive to render more comprehensible one of the divine



attributes: "I am Alpha and Omega." Many children have experienced a sweet and delicious impression, on finding out that the first reading lesson in Greek may help them to acknowledge God, as the first principle and the last end of everything.

To remove all objections we are told that religious instruction ought to be given in the family and in church. To this I reply, instruction at home, especially for *those who attend school* is often a real impossibility. As a rule, the public schools are intended for the children of parents who are not in exceptional good circumstances. Well, in such families, generally speaking, the father is at work from morning to night. Weary, harassed, it cannot be expected that he will have time—even if sufficiently educated—to go over all the lessons given at school during the day, to point out to his children the religious teachings which, *naturally, must accompany and direct* such lessons. On the other hand, the good mother, up early in the morning, having hardly time to breathe before the children leave for school, busy as she is with all her household duties, has little leisure at her command. The fact is that many children come late to school just because their mothers had not time to get them ready. Let us remember, the schools we speak of are seldom for the children of the rich, but for those of the main body of the people, farmers, mechanics, laborers etc. These classes are as fond as any other of their children, and as anxious to give them a good education, and to prepare them for the struggles of life. But we must admit that said classes have not the same means as others to secure their children complete religious instruction. If the school be Christian it will help the parents to perform their duty and to do justice to those they love so tenderly. If you deprive parents of this reliance you embitter their existence more and more, while adding to their many trials. Who is not aware of the anxiousness experienced by a good christian mother, when she believes that her children are exposed to pernicious influence? Even the fear of bad company often determines parents to keep their children at home, and thousands of men have been

beprived of all sort of secular instruction for that very reason. Give this feeling the name you choose, for my part, I think any real conscientious conviction is entitled to regard, and I respect it.

Undoubtedly it is the duty of parents to attend personally to the religious instruction of their children. But even supposing they do so, I say that it is not desirable that such instruction be confined to the paternal roof. It must extend to the school, otherwise the teaching in the family would soon be looked upon by children as a thing to be left at home and of no use elsewhere. They would not hold such teaching in the same esteem. Indifference at first, and contempt soon after, would be the inevitable result of the contest between the domestic and school teaching. The child must look upon those who educate him as the guardians selected by the love of parents for his advantage. Teachers, to succeed, need to captivate the attention and even the affection of their pupils. The latter must be enabled to notice in their teachers not only learning but also virtue, otherwise they will despise them and even their improvement in their studies will be hindered.

But how can a christian child whose religious instruction is well attended to at home, regard with respect and confidence the teacher who seems to ignore everything about religion? The lessons of the father and the mother ought to be corroborated by the lessons of the person to whom they entrust the tuition of their child, otherwise the lessons of parents will turn to naught, or be at least singularly diminished. A father will tell his son to remember that God is everywhere, that we should walk in His presence, and work under His divine eye, in order to please him and secure his help. But if, on arriving at school, God must be left at the door, and the intellect not to be busied about His remembrance, the strongest motive for the child to study and behave well, disappears. He becomes unconscious of the want of divine assistance. In fact the most manifest contradiction prevails in the mind. Children think more deeply than people generally believe. The contrast between the domestic hearth and that of science, between the

lessons of parents and of their representatives, produces a very baneful impression on the minds of youth. If a child is virtuous and well inclined he will of course prefer domestic training, but if he is impetuous and of a nature difficult to control he will easily put aside the inculcations of religious training and aim solely at pleasing himself. But, in all cases, he will be less studious, less respectful to his teacher, less dutiful to his parents, and lose many of the qualities that grace the good pupil and the young christian. Experience, and the very nature of the human heart, prove that such is the unavoidable result of the boasted system.

Under the christian system the religious teaching given at home is strengthened at school; the duties proclaimed by the father are extolled by the teacher, all those who have any influence over the intellect and heart of the young, agree among themselves and assist each other, the lessons are much more efficacious, the impressions more lasting, and the ultimate result incomparably more satisfactory. The pupils are more earnest in their studies, behave themselves better, people have what they ask for : EDUCATION. That is to say, the bringing forth all the moral and intellectual faculties of the child for its own benefit, and developing the good dispositions of the young with advantage.

The greatest misfortune of those who study is when their studies draw them from God and from faith. Such an awful result is unfortunately of too frequent occurrence though it ought to be avoided. For, as it has been very properly said by a great genius: "If a little science draws from God, much science brings back to Him." The habit of studying without reference to God has deceived many men of mature years; the deplorable result is much more to be dreaded for unguarded youth. Catholics are justly alarmed at the great number of infidels "turned out" by certain public schools.

With too many lads, religious instruction is hardly good enough for young children, nothing of the kind being found in schools. And the school being the house of learning, these lads believe themselves "the learned." So, in the estimation of many, religion and learning are no longer the inseparable

guide of the soul, but have become irreconcilable enemies; and as the young man sees in knowledge the means of making his way through life, religion becomes, in his estimation, an impediment to success and undesirable baggage. Such are the fruits of the system in itself.

Now, some one will say: Such is not the case; I was educated in common schools, and I am as religious as any, and in fact more than many that were trained in Denominational Schools. So much the better if you form the happy exception: I do not argue on exceptions but on the rule, and there are exceptions to every rule. Besides, observe, please, that I do not even argue against Common or Public Schools, as such; but merely against schools being called and pretending to be "non-sectarian." No doubt—and I have already established the fact—that in many instances a great deal of religious instruction is imparted in Common or Public Schools; evidently the strength of my argument is not with these last schools, which are in fact what I wish every school to be, viz., institutions to secure religious instruction along with the knowledge of secular branches.

An unmistakable proof of the undesirability of education without religious instruction, is the fact that *all infidels of every shape, name and color, all miscreants of every tribe and country, are ZEALOUS PROMOTERS of the system, and regard it as the only way to secure in time the negation of all religion.* And, strange to observe, in many instances these very supporters of the scheme send their own children, especially their daughters, to religious institutions, rightly judging that they will *not only be well educated, but that their morals will be safeguarded under the protection of religion.* A man may be a practical infidel himself, but there are few, if any, who like to see their daughters brought up under Godless tuition.

The church is undoubtedly a place of religious instruction; but a child will have but very meagre teaching if he receives no other. It is well known that Sunday schools cannot give complete religious instruction, and that they are but little attended, if at all, by those who are in greater want of them,

notwithstanding the endeavors, in many instances, of both parents and teachers to send children there. Preaching is better adapted to adults than to children, and cannot replace the incidental instruction which may be given in school without effort as without contention; and which finds its natural place on the lips and in the manners of a Christian teacher; in the explanation given, and which penetrates more easily into the mind of the child, because it is more frequent and in accordance with its mental advancement. Without being felt, this kind of instruction establishes in the soul of the child dependence of everything on God, and convinces him of the necessity to have religion everywhere. Consequently renders him more moral, more honest, more of all he should be, not only at home and during divine service, but in all circumstances of life. Everywhere he will make use of the knowledge he has acquired in school. Otherwise, religion would seem as if wrapped up with the Sunday dress, and put aside for the week, as of no use except when going to church.

Of all the arguments against those who oppose the system, the following is, in my estimation, the weakest: "The plea of conscience sometimes urged against non-sectarian schools is fallacious since such schools only fail by defect to teach religion." This is exactly the point, and the very reason that shows how undesirable the system is. Such schools "fail by defect to teach" the thing most indispensable, and such defect is so fatal, that nothing can remedy it. The defect to teach what ought to be taught—as the sole sure guide of any acquirement—is precisely the justification of all the opposition made against the system, and the proof of its undesirability.

A few comparisons may show the weight of the argument. Darkness *only fails by defect* to give light; still no one thinks it is bright. Starvation *only fails by defect* to give food, still no one esteems it nourishing. Light clothing, during winter, *only fails by defect* to keep warm, still people can safely say the dress is cold.

Suppose a man in a state of starvation and exposed to freeze to death on a dark night. Do you

think you could save, help or satisfy him by stolidly saying: "Don't complain, my friend, *you only fail by defect* to have food, light and clothing. Hunger will, "not interpose obstacles" to your appetite when you will have the chance of a meal. Darkness will rest your eyes and prepare them to enjoy light. Exposure will make you prize the comfort of warm clothing. So don't be uneasy."

And to say that this is exactly similar to what we are told about religious instruction in schools! While such instruction is unquestionably the purest and brightest light of the intellect, the true and wholesome food of the heart, and the divine mantle which protects the soul against the cold wind of indifference, and the freezing blast of infidelity, both leading to eternal death.

On what ground can any one expect to satisfy earnest christians by the utterance, our "schools only fail by defect to teach religion."

Such an argument reminds me of what happened in the small town of Atheopolis near one of the numerous Devil's Lakes of the Western States. People there decided on building a new school-house. Just in the heart of the town there was a slightly elevated point surrounded with all sort of attractions. The summit was planted with beautiful trees, a delicious stream bathed the foot of the hill, pleasantly cooling the atmosphere during summer, and used as skating rink during winter. The gentle slope of the hill and high rocks in the rear, seemed to offer every facility for gymnastic exercise. A better site for a school house could not be imagined, and it was secured by the unanimous vote of all the rate-payers of the locality. The trustees accepted a tender of an architect of great renown. Nothing was spared to have a first class establishment. A fine large house was erected. The laws of acoustics made all the apartments sonorous, without excess, and deadened all outside noise. The most learned dioptrics disposed the lights in a way to render it abundant, pleasant and un hurtful. Patented desks of the best style, were ordered from Philadelphia. Globes, maps, and all appliances to impart learning, were provided at great expense, and a first class teacher engaged at a large salary.

The whole population, parents and children were really enthusiastic, the new school house was the topic of the day, and every one longed to see it open. The architect, not content with the praise received from all around him, was proudly drawing attention to a certain apparatus he styled the "*best system of ventilation*" and of his own invention. It served, at the while, as an ornament and a sort of cupola on the top of the building, communicated with all the apartments and was set at work by the weight of those attending school. Every one was seized with admiration. An old architect who had great experience and success in the erection of large educational establishments, was the only one who dared to express a doubt as to the fitness of the structure. On the day appointed by the trustees, the school opened, and it was a real day of joy.

The whole proved satisfactory, and according to expectation, for a while. But winter set in. Doors and windows had to be closed, and a very unpleasant change followed. Children, as well as master, became uneasy. A certain dullness was noticeable with most of those attending school. Parents began to be apprehensive about the symptoms of weakness observed in their children. In the middle of winter the thing got worse. Phthisic, dyspepsia, diphtheria and many other diseases which had never been known among the children of the place began to spread rapidly. Medical men were consulted, but they could not ascertain the cause of the evil. Finally a commission was appointed to make close observations. The commissioners repaired to the school, called parents and children and began the enquiry. But to their great astonishment, they, themselves, soon began to feel weak and sick. The whole was found to proceed from the scarcity of atmospheric air. At last they discovered that the *famous ventilator* was nothing but an AIR-PUMP, which was the harder at work as those present became more numerous, for it was moved by the very weight of their bodies.

The doors and windows were immediately opened to save the large gathering from suffocation. The discovery startled the people of the town, they became as much against the architect as they had

avored him in the beginning. Many parents sued him before a magistrate as having done so much harm to their children. The poor man could not deny the fact, it was of public notoriety, but he gave the following explanation: "*People always complain of the difficulty of ventilating a school room and keeping perfectly clear of all unpleasant and injurious gas and air. I imagined that an AIR PUMP would be the very thing to suit the purpose and unobjectionable, as the school would only fail by defect to have air, but, at all events, be free from all noxious vapors.*"

Such is the whole system of unchristian education. To avoid some of the thousand miseries inherent to human nature, and unavoidable under any circumstances, the system adopts the most deplorable counterpart, in encouraging tuition that *fails by defect to teach* the only remedy to human misery, and may be justly termed a sort of *pneumatic engine*, by means of which, all the religious dispositions of children may be exhausted from their hearts.

4. THE NON-SECTARIAN SCHOOL SYSTEM IS NOT-DESIRED.

This last affirmation may seem extraordinary, and perfectly groundless on the part of one who opposes the *desire* expressed to establish the system in Manitoba. So I beg of the reader not to get under the impression that I pretend to ignore, that a certain number of the inhabitants of the Province have expressed their sympathy for the system, nor that I overlook their opinions. But I wish to point out in this number the reasons which prove that the system is so little patronized and meets with so much opposition, that we may justly say—in a general way—that it is not desired. To support what I here advance, I must naturally extend my observations outside of certain localities, and also of classes of individuals, even were they numerous.

I am satisfied that our young Province, while animated with the just desire to work for itself, has not such pretension to superiority as to believe that it can receive no lesson from elsewhere. Young countries, as well as young men, need to study and to know what has been done by their elders, to benefit by their experience.

The question of education is so important, that it would be folly to voluntarily ignore the past, in order to judge what ought to be done or avoided in future. Superficial men alone dispose with deplorable facility of an opinion contrary to their own; while men of learning and sense always weigh with calm consideration the opinions of others before repudiating them.

I address serious minds, and they, I am sure, will not find fault with me for going as far as possible, with regard to distance and time, to ascertain, if in reality, the scheme I oppose is desired. Therefore, to show that the immense majority of those who have dealt with the question of education have manifested no desire for the system, I

will briefly examine what has been thought of it by those of the different persuasions that profess Christianity; how it stands in various Christian countries; and add a few remarks on the subject with regard to the Dominion, without excepting our young Province of Manitoba.

Having to mention the views of Christians, I will follow chronological order, and, consequently, begin by Catholics. It cannot be denied that they are the oldest as well as the most numerous of all Christian denominations; I will even say the one which has given most education. I know this is saying a good deal; still it is the least that can be said to be true to facts and to history. Now-a-days every one knows the opinion Catholics have always had concerning religious instruction in schools. Its necessity is for them a belief in which they all unite, and it may be safely said that there is not even one amongst them who desires the establishment of a school system without religious teaching. Not only the Sovereign Pontiff and his *thousand* Brother Bishops repudiate the idea of such teaching, but the clergy of all other orders, as well as every layman, have but one opinion, and there are not two convictions among Catholics on the point. They who pretend "that there are thousands of strict Catholics who are advocates of" the "non-sectarian system," do not know what a strict Catholic is, no more than they know what Catholics consider as "fallacious" or not. It would be a vain effort to search for one single *sincere* and *educated* Catholic that would advocate the system. All Catholics, of whatsoever rank or condition in Europe, Asia and Africa, as well as those of Oceania and America, reject it. There is in this very fact sufficient matter for reflection, and, at least, the proof of an opinion of some weight. They who lay so much stress on the supremacy of numbers, ought to find in this an argument against the system, because Catholics are not only the most numerous of Christian denominations, but they alone number more than all other Christian denominations together. Moreover, in this instance, the weight of the "argument of numbers" is increased by the weight of the "argument of time." I will surprise

nobody by stating that the Catholic Church is as ancient as Christianity ; consequently, that it has dealt with every century through the whole Christian era. The experience of nineteen centuries is something in the estimation of thinking men ; and the unanimous conviction which prevails through the whole Catholic body in 1877, with regard to the necessity of religious instruction for youth in school, has prevailed during the eighteen hundred years which Christian history allows us to compute.

I know that the number of men and the number of years are not always, and in all matters, a criterion of certitude ; but, to ascertain a fact, such numbers have always great weight. When millions and millions of Christians are unanimous, during eighteen centuries, in repudiating a system, it surely proves, at least, that such a system is *not desired*. Any one anxious to frame a plan of education suitable for Christian youth, in a Christian country, cannot wisely consider such a fact as of no importance. It is well known how far prejudice and ill-will can mislead, but there are facts which necessarily command attention. And that of the unanimity and perseverance of Catholics, in not desiring schools that fail by defect to teach religion, is worthy of the most-serious consideration of those who prepare schemes they intend for Catholics as well as for others.

The number of men as well as of years is not the only reason that gives weight to the Catholic idea on the subject. Even—without taking into consideration what is most precious to Catholics themselves, and viewing merely what any reasonable man cannot refuse to admit—that body, with regard merely to the number of its members and to the number of centuries through which it has existed, has necessarily greater experience than any other concerning education. Pagan Rome subjugated the world without educating it. Christian Rome made the noblest of conquests by the education of the world. Lombards, Franks, Saxons, Britons, Celts, and so many other barbarous nations became the most civilized of the world in the Christian schools established by Christian Rome.

When implanted in Italy, Gaul, Great Britain, Germany, and elsewhere, Catholicity founded schools, academies, colleges and universities, and formed the legions of heroes, of saints, and of scholars, that have thrown so much lustre on civilized Europe during fifteen centuries, and of whom so many thousands elicit the just admiration of all truly learned men of the present age. Yes, legions of great men, in all branches, received their education in the Christian schools of the time. Therefore Catholicism, which, during the above period, was the only religion of Europe, has a right to claim experience in educational training. Such experience, joined to the number and to the length of time, already alluded to, renders so much the more worthy of attention the fact that Catholics have *no desire* for Godless schools.

The fact of the successful training, due to the experience of Catholicity, is very easily established. It has, nevertheless, been repeatedly denied by men, whose erudition in some other matters should direct better.

Archeology and Statistics—so much appreciated at the present time—have largely contributed to put the thing in its true light. Some of the strongest opponents to Catholicity are forced to render it an unlimited tribute of praise, and to acknowledge it *as far the largest nursery of teachers*, not only in matters of faith, from its rudiments to the sublime summits of sanctity, *but also of teachers in secular branches*, from the rudiments of language to the grandest and highest conceptions of genius.

May I be permitted to corroborate my statement by the opinion of one, who has lately shown great hostility to the Catholic Church, but who is sufficiently learned to feel the impossibility to conceal what history records:

Mr. Gladstone, himself, is my authority. In his "Studies on Homer". Vol. 2, pg. 531, he says that the Roman Catholic Church "has marched for fifteen hundred years at the head of human civilization, and—has driven, harnessed to its chariot, as the horses of a triumphal car, the chief intellectual and material forces of the world; its learning has been the learning of the world; its arts

"the arts of the world ; its genius the genius of the world ; its greatness, glory, grandeur, and majesty have been almost, though not absolutely, all that, in these respects, the world has had to boast of."

So much for fifteen centuries. Since that time competition in the field has only served to stimulate the efforts.

This important quotation is but one among so many others supplied by Protestants, in justification of Catholicism, against the undeserved accusations of its being a body of only poor experience in the art of teaching. Such testimonials as that just quoted, ought to be, for every sensible man, a reason not to reject *a priori* the unanimous conviction of the Catholic body. Surely I am not in the wrong when I maintain that the system I oppose is *not desired* by the most numerous, the most ancient, and the most experienced of all christian denominations.

Catholics are not the only christians that repudiate the system. The Greek Church is equally adverse to it ; and the millions of "orthodox" of that church are as many adversaries of the anti christian scheme. The Czar of Russia has shown to the world, and especially to his subjects, that his government is not always of the most exquisite tenderness. Still he has never gone so far as to try to eradicate all christian notions from the heart of the nation by forcing, on its school population, the dire trial of irreligious schooling. While mentioning that the Greek Church has no desire for the system, I perfectly understand that I cannot remain there long, for neither the adversaries nor the supporters of the system, in Manitoba, have any idea to take either in Russia, or in some of the Turkish Provinces, the plan of education we want ; but having to speak of all christian denominations, I could not help mentioning the Greek Church, which counts so many millions of adherents.

Having stated that Catholics and Greeks have no desire for the abolition of religious tuition in schools, I naturally come to examine the views of Protestants on the subject and here, again, I see in the numerous body of Protestants, taken as a whole, great opposition to the system, the scheme being

not a Protestant, but an *anti-christian institution*. I term Protestants those who separated from the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century, and the various sects into which they have since subdivided. With this explanation, I say that the immense majority of Protestants have never had the desire to see their children educated in schools deprived of religious teaching. My assertion is based on the fact that from the very establishment of their creed, the Protestants of Europe have been anxious to have their children trained under religious tuition, and in schools where religious teaching and religious exercises were freely practised.

That the Protestants of the United States since the foundation of the English colony in America, until 1840 or about, had established and supported denominational schools *and no other*. That even to day, in many localities of the United States, where schools are exclusively conducted by Protestants, the religious character of such schools is perfectly distinct. So much so that a Presbyterian divine of Rochester said in a sermon preached on the 17th Dec. 1871: "There is a great deal of religion in 'our schools * * * * from the ringing of 'the bell up to the recitation in the Anabasis, 'there is scarcely one thing that is not toned and 'shaped by the religion of our blessed Lord."

That the Protestants of Canada as well as those of the Mother country have always thought it advisable to secure religious education in schools, and wherever the godless system was attempted, pastors and parents multiplied private institutions to obviate the disastrous consequences. If there were no Catholics to be injured by the establishment of "non-sectarian schools," Protestants would never have thought of it in Canada no more than in the United States. As a body they are adverse to the system *in itself*, as clearly demonstrated by a close investigation. Infidels alone like the system *for itself*.

A glance over countries known as well educated, will bring the conviction that the scheme is not patronized to the extent that is sometimes imagined.

It has been repeatedly, but falsely affirmed, that a "non-sectarian" school system had been long since

established in Prussia, and that such was the cause of its advancement of late. The truth is that old Frederic King of Prussia, although an unbeliever himself, and the intimate friend of Voltaire, felt it a duty to enjoin religious instruction in the schools of his kingdom; and the regulations he published on the 12th August 1763, prescribing religious instruction in schools, were fully preserved until persecution broke out under Bismarck in 1872. True, after the disastrous campaign of 1806, the system of education was remodelled, but nothing was attempted to impede religious instruction. Far from that, it was continued to the schools of every denomination, and placed under the supervision of their respective pastors. Not only Protestants had their schools, but Catholics had also theirs, and even the Rabbins had the right and duty to look after the schools, established for the children of Israel. In small localities, where more than one school could not be supported, the different denominations came to an agreement, but always in a way to preserve religious instruction. The whole goes to show that the "non-sectarian system" was neither practiced nor even desired in Prussia.

They who consider the school organization of that country as the cause of its late success, ought to be convinced that in this, as in preceding centuries, religious instruction in schools does not prevent the prosperity and the aggrandizement of a nation. The German army, which invaded France in 1870, counted about one third of Catholics, and I am not aware that it has been said that they, princes, officers, or even privates, were inferior to others, although they had received religious instruction in accordance with their faith.

The Swiss Republic has an organization somewhat similar to that of Germany, and religious instruction is not banished from schools.

The Revolution of 1830, placed a disciple of Voltaire on the throne of France. The son of "Philippe Egalite" was, naturally, an enemy of liberty of teaching. He insisted on the absolute control of the Government on the high education of the land, according to Napoleonic views. The days of his reign were about the same as those of

the two Napoleons, and ended in like manner; he also having become a victim of the system. But, notwithstanding the hostility of Louis Philippe to any competition with the State in relation to Universities, Lyceums, Polytechnic Schools, etc., his Government never dared to abolish religious instruction in the Common Schools. Such teaching was maintained in the law passed in 1833. The Bill was introduced "à la chambre des Députés" by the profound Protestant, Guizot, who made the following remarks: "The teacher is summoned by the parent to share his authority; this authority he must exercise with the same vigilance and almost with the same affection. . . . You know that virtue does not always follow in the train of knowledge, and that the lessons received by children might become dangerous to them were they addressed exclusively to the understanding. Let the teacher, therefore, bestow his first care on the cultivation of the moral qualities of his pupils. . . . Nothing, besides, is more desirable than a perfect understanding between the *minister of religion* and the teacher; both are in possession of moral authority; both require the confidence of families; both can agree in exercising over the children committed to their care, in several ways, a common influence."

Had the idea expressed with regard to common schools prevailed in the establishments of high education in France, the country would not have received the humiliation it has undergone.

In England, the Committee of Council on education selected, for its secretary, Doctor James Philip Kay. Doctor Kay is well known for the services he has rendered to education. He was even knighted by Her Majesty on that account. He travelled through the European continent to study various school systems. He planned different measures which were adopted by the Committee of Council on education, and, subsequently, sanctioned by the English Government. His name is an authority, and his views on education are consonant with the public opinion of England and the Parliament. I believe that a Canadian would not show himself unworthy of a British subject, and

hostile to our young Province, in adopting the ideas expressed by Dr. Kay: "The parent should not be led to regard the school as the privilege of the citizen, so much as another scene of household duty. The communities are neither most prosperous, nor most happy, in which the political or social relations of the family are more prominent than the domestic. To make the households of the poor scenes of *Christian peace, is the first object of the school*. Why then should we substitute its external relations for its internal—the idea of the citizen for that of the parent—the sense of political or social rights for those of domestic duties—the claim of public privilege for the personal law of conscience?"

Doctor Kay knew perfectly well the religious character that the desire of the English people had imparted to the forty Normal schools of England and Scotland. Twenty-seven of them being connected with the church of England, two with the established church of Scotland; two with the Free Church in Scotland; one with the Roman Catholic Church, one with the Wesleyan etc., etc., and in speaking of these Institutions he says:—"The English National Training College has thus received a definite consideration, in harmony with the separate religious organization of elementary schools, and forty such establishments have been incorporated into a scheme of administrative action, in which the education of the future schoolmaster commences in the infant, is pursued in the elementary school, developed during its apprenticeship, and completed as a Queen's scholar in the Training College. In every part of his career, he is subject to the direct and independent influence of the religious communion to which he belongs, through the managers of the schools or college."

It is clear, therefore, that England established a general system of National schools not excluding religious teaching. I conclude that England had no desire for your "non-sectarian" system, perfectly satisfied that religious training will never prevent the development of the intellect, nor throw any difficulty in the way of educating the young. Even

should Manitoba retain denominational schools, I think it would hurt nobody.

The following is a curious occurrence; just at the time that Great Britain was studying continental system of education. The United States of America were making similar enquiries. But, strange to say, with an quite contrary result.

In 1837, the Massachusetts Board of Education was formed and their agents sent to Prussia, Horace Mann accomplished his mission, but in a way very different from what was done by the English delegates. Instead of reporting the full system of Prussia he exposed a mere skeleton of it. He preserved the dimensions in showing its universality and—if I may use the expression—the bones of the system, in the government grant and private assessment. But the soul, the moral life of the system was left to those across the Atlantic. Until then, the American schools had been christian, but the organization established by Fanny Wright in 1827 was at work among the American people, and urged by the idea of hurting the Catholics, whose number began to be felt, had prepared the way for the Report of Horace Mann. The Report was received and the system accepted as a *genuine* Prussian Institution while, in fact, it was nothing but a natural produce of the French Revolution and of infidelity. There begins, as an exception, *the desire in a protestant community, to have Godless schools.*

The system has prevailed there but the following quotations prove that it is not in perfect harmony with the views and desires of all American Protestants.

Governor Seward, New York, in his message to the Legislature in 1840, speaks as follows of the children excluded from Public Schools, by the new system:—"I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend the establishment of schools in which they be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith.

The following year the Secretary of State, Spencer, reported as follows: "No officer, among the thousands having charge of our common

"schools, thinks of opposing by an authoritative direction, respecting the nature or extent of moral or religious instruction to be given in our schools. The whole control is left to the free and unrestricted action of the people themselves, in their several districts. The practical consequence is, that each district suits itself, by having such religious instruction in its schools as is congenial to the opinions of its inhabitants."

Thirty Presidents of American Colleges at Oberlin, Ohio, passed among other resolutions, the following :

"Resolved, that we note with pleasure, the evidences of increasing interest in the literary, scientific, and especially the religious education of the youth of our land; believing as we do, that education not based upon Christian truth, is of questionable value."

"Resolved, that we commend these interests to the sympathies, prayers, and liberality of Christian people and congregations, that our schools may be increasingly useful as fountains, not only of sound instruction, but also of earnest, elevated piety."

Doctor Anderson, of the Baptist Church, addressing the Baptist Educational Convention, in New-York, says: "Happily, I need not say much on the moral and religious education in Colleges. By far the larger part of our colleges have been founded by religious men, and by prayer and faith, consecrated to Christ."

Rev. Doctor Clark, with the warm approval of many influential men of different persuasions, says: "If we are to have a Christian nation, it must be by force of Christian ideas instilled into the hearts of the young. * * * It is clear from the history of the Free School system of America, that it had its origin in the desire to maintain the truths of the Bible in the hearts of all the people. The Bible, in fact, is its source. To remove, therefore, the Bible and its sacred principles from our system of education, would be to take from that system its very soul, its life giving power."

The Presbyterians of America, in their general

assembly in 1848, passed the following:

"Resolved, that this General Assembly, believing that the Children of the Church are a trust committed to the Church, by the Lord Jesus Christ, and having confidence in the power of Christian education to train them, with the divine blessing, in the way they should go, do cordially recommend their congregations to establish primary and other schools, as far as may be practicable on the plan, sanctioned by the last assembly, of teaching the truths and duties of our holy religion in connection with the usual branches of secular learning."

In a convention of Baptists held in Marion, Alabama, on the 12th April 1871, the following opinion was expressed: "The tendency of the common school system is to foster infidelity, the only hope is christian education in our own schools."

According to the Right Reverend Doctor Coxe, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, these are the positions to be held by churchmen:

1st. "Secure to every human being the best education you can provide for him."

"2nd. Where you can do no better, utilize the common schools and supplement them by additional means of doing good."

"3rd. But where you can do better, let us do our full duty to our children, and to all children, by gathering them into schools and colleges truly christian."

Rev. Doctor Peck, President of the Board of Trustees of the Syracuse university said: "The hope of our country is the christian religion, the putting of it where it is not and the allowing no man to take it away from where it is. Our institution is for positive christianity, such as comes from the Holy Bible, such as Methodists approve; that which will influence your children to come to Christ. If you want anything else don't put me on the Board of Trustees, nor ask me to give anything. These are your principles. God forbid that you should change them or seek to adjust them to the liberal religion of the day."

All the above opinions of leading clergymen of different denominations shew, that the "non-sectarian" system is not universally desired in the United States. Its prestige lessens every day, as may be learned from the superintendent of education in Buffalo, in his report of 1870: "The increase of the number and attendance of pupils at private schools, during the past ten years, is a subject of serious consideration. Formerly the Public Schools monopolized almost entirely the education of our youth; but at the present time, private and religious schools are attended by nearly 25 per cent of those who are of the school age."

The annual report of the Board of Education in the city of New York for 1870, establishes that the same year, out of 155,603 children attending school, 46,049 were in private religious schools.

A communication sent to the *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis, 22nd Feb. 1872, by E. H. Shepard, after proposing to apportion to each denominational school in existence, the assessments levied from their respective supporters, says: "Should action on this subject be much longer delayed, while we see such crowds flocking to parochial schools of different denominations, we may expect to see a combined opposition formed against the present taxation that will endanger the labors of so many years."

Such a number of quotations may be unpleasant; and I will not multiply them, but resume my argument concerning the United States, by affirming that, it is not exactly, a Herculean task, to become convinced that, the "non-sectarian" system is not universally desired by Protestants of different denominations, even among our neighbors; nor is it difficult to show that, in many instances, it is very different from what it is believed to be.

A word now about the Dominion. I say that a system, purely secular, and without any reference to religion, is not congenial to the desire of the great majority of Canadians. Upper Canada has been the field of many battles, and of immense agitation on the school question. Gigantic efforts were made, for many years, to secure secular edu-

cation, having but little connection with religion; although the Rev. Mr. Ryerson, himself, styles his a "Christian System." Notwithstanding all the efforts made to prevent the establishment of separate schools, they are nevertheless, recognized. The concession has quieted minds, restored harmony, and given, to the intercourse between Protestants and Catholics, a friendly tone, which the school question seemed, at one time, to have rendered utterly impossible. The volcano which vomited flames enough to burn everything "popish" and lava sufficiently abundant to bury alive all that was "Romish," is extinguished. Now and then, the crater sends forth a little smoke, but nothing compared with what took place at the time of the School question. I am inclined to think that the people of Ontario are better satisfied *now* than they were then.

In the Province of Quebec, the Protestants have their schools and the Catholics likewise. The "non-sectarian" system is unanimously repudiated.

I ignore what the future has in store for the Catholics of the Province of Nova Scotia. I am not prepared to say if they will long continue to enjoy what practice has secured for them; but, so far, religion is not excluded from schools. The Province of Nova Scotia, as well as those of Ontario and Quebec, does not move in favor of a system so much the less desirable as it is the more offensive to the conscience of so many Canadians.

There remain New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and British Columbia. It is evident that in these three Provinces, non-Catholics have decided in favor of the system; as it is equally clear that the Catholics reject it. The latter, being the less numerous, have been defeated, and bear the application of the old proverb, "*vae victis*." "(Woe to the vanquished)."

This result, considered *from a sectarian point of view*, is a source of jubilation for the enemies of Catholicity. Their joy is so much the greater, as the grief imposed upon their fellow-countrymen is more bitter. The triumph, as well as the defeat, is recent. God alone knows how long this state of

things will last. But it has certainly given rise to undesirable strife, and bitter fruits have already been produced. A body is never made healthy by keeping open and irritating a sore. Besides, the success achieved is not exactly what it seems to be. If we come to a close investigation of the circumstances of the case, we will easily find out that, after all, there is not a very great difference, even in those provinces, in the number of those who repudiate the system, and those who *really* and *practically* voted on its merit. First, Catholics form more than one third of the population, then take from the system the support of Protestants who are not willing to *make use of it for their own children*, under the conviction that it is hurtful; count afterwards those who voted for the system *through mere opposition to Catholicity*, and because the "*non-sectarian*" system had been made a *sectarian* question, as well as those who voted for it *merely on political grounds*, as a question of party. In a word, leave the system to its real value and to the sympathy it commands by itself and for itself and you will find that the apparent sympathy will singularly diminish. It is a strange phenomenon to see the education of youth used as a political engine, by political parties; and the phenomenon is still more astonishing when we consider that the *hottest religious animosity* is developed to establish or support a system *which boasts of having no connection whatsoever with religion*.

For people who always speak of the power of numbers, it is not consistent to believe that the three smallest Provinces outside of our own, represent the Canadian opinion equally as well as the three largest. Besides, the experience of three smaller Provinces is but recent, and generates great uneasiness in their midst. While the experience of the three largest Provinces is more ancient, has restored and maintained harmony among the different sections of their respective populations.

The two Political parties who fight for power in Ottawa, seem to have come to the same conclusion on this question of education. The late administration, in providing for the organization of Manitoba, did all they thought necessary to secure a system of

separate schools for the new Province. The actual administration, in organizing the government of the North-west Territories, has enacted in the same sense, and granted separate schools to said territories. When succeeding to power, both parties rallied large majorities in votes expressing their regret at the condition of things in New Brunswick. It is impossible not to see in all this, that Canadians are rather in favor of a system of education which would leave full liberty to follow religious convictions on the subject.

In beginning this number, I said I would go as far as possible with regard to time and distance. I think the tour I have made is long enough to fulfil my promise, and it is time to come back to Manitoba.

What does Manitoba think on the subject?—every man sees with his own spectacles; and, even at the risk of being accused of being blind, I cannot say that I see, on the part of the people of Manitoba, the desire to repudiate all religious instruction in the schools for their children. Almost every session our Legislature is modifying the school-law, and every year the action of the Legislature is in the same direction; that is to say, the recognition, more and more explicit, of the system of separate schools. In fact, Protestant and Catholic schools are no where more separate and distinct than in Manitoba. Two Superintendents, one Protestant and one Catholic; two sections of the Board of Education, one Protestant and one Catholic, each with entire jurisdiction over the schools of their denomination, and none at all over those of the other section; not even the right, for the members of either section, to visit, *officially*, the schools of the other; the power of each section, to, respectively, establish districts within the same limits. The Government grant allotted to both sections of the Board, according to the Protestant or Catholic population. In a word, the most complete and entire separation, without any idea of dependence or of exceptional position. This very year the law for the creation of a University in Manitoba, explicitly recognizes the principle of our actual system of education. An amendment, as an explanation of our present laws,

leaves no room for ambiguity about the levying of assessments for our common schools, as it says :

"In no case a Protestant rate-payer shall be obliged to pay for Catholic schools, and a Catholic rate-payer for a protestant school." Our school law shows clearly that our people are not, after all so averse to denominational or christian schools, consequently, that they are not in earnest about the "non-sectarian system." The Members of the Legislature knew what they were about, and their perseverance in voting in the same sense, for seven years, is congenial to the views of the population. Moreover, our statutes have incorporated as denominational, the three colleges which exist in the Province, and two others intended to be established at a later period ; as they have also incorporated Denominational Institutions for the education of young ladies.

What is the meaning of all this, except that all the different denominations of Manitoba, all those under their respective control in the Province, all those who aid in their support from abroad, that all have the sincere conviction that the religious future of families depends, not only on the instruction that children receive at home and in church, but on that which they receive in schools ; That young people will be what they will have been taught to be in school. Why all such distinctions if—as some say :—"a good strong secular education is all our people want for our school population ?"

If a religious establishment is a proper place—and it is—for college students, such qualification renders it also desirable for other pupils. If it is good for those who attend colleges to have religious tuition, it is just as good for those who attend common schools. The latter schools are intended for the main body of the people. Why then deprive the main body of the children of the people, of the advantage that other can secure for their children, by educating them in colleges ? Riches and rank are not exceptional titles to the benefit of a christian education.

If it is desirable for young gentlemen and young ladies to receive a refined education, in religious establishments, it is equally desirable that every

christian boy and christian girl receive a christian education, in the only schools they can attend. It is cruelty to refuse religious institutions to children, because their parents are not in such circumstances as to enable them to send them to colleges or boarding schools. I fail to conciliate the *manifest contradiction* on the part of men, who would not send their own children to schools, where there is no religious instructions; who do all in their power for the success of establishments in which they, themselves, *teach religion along with secular branches*, and who at the same time do all they can to *deprive common or public schools of a similar advantage*, in endeavoring to establish a system of education such, that infidelity or, at least, indifference for religion be the result.

The college student needs the help of strong convictions and solid religious instruction, to be guarded against the seductions of the high condition, to which he aspires; but others, in the ordinary classes of society, have an equal want of religious conviction; to enable them to endure the toils and afflictions of life, the temptations, which naturally follow the sight of the riches of others, and to be through all their life, useful to society and to themselves.

These my convictions are those of most of the people of Manitoba, and as the result cannot be secured without religious instruction, accompanying teaching of secular branches in schools, I say in conclusion: The people of Manitoba as other Canadians, as a large proportion of Americans, as the whole of christian Europe, have no desire for Godless or nonsectarian schools.

THIRDLY — THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NON-SECTARIAN SCHOOLS FROM A SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW.

The object of education is to improve the person who receives it so that it may be useful to himself, to his family, and to society in general. It is undeniable that instruction not tending to have this result, or unfit to secure it, is absolutely defective and more dangerous than useful. A school system which excludes all religious teaching becomes, necessarily, a nursery of infidels, and is, consequently, the enemy of social order. What I advance, is said, I know, not to be in accordance with the "spirit of the age" but I know also, that the same spirit of the age is, unfortunately, opposed to the spirit of Jesus Christ, and for me, as for every christian "Jesus Christ yesterday, and to-day: and the same for ever." So, I repudiate any teaching which lessens the knowledge of Divine Wisdom.

The greatest social danger of our age is the de-christianization and the demoralization of the rising generation. And, no doubt, the quickest and the surest way to dechristianize and demoralize a people, is to instruct them as a pagan nation, by the complete neglect of religious instruction. I said that the non-sectarian system has not my sympathies from a religious standpoint; because, instead of forming the heart to virtue and religion, the tendency of its very nature is, to paralyze and stifle every religious disposition. Another natural consequence of the system is, a tendency to the destruction of social order. I consider religion as the sole solid foundation of society. Any thing prejudicial to religion is also dangerous to society. Therefore even from a mere social point of view, I reject any school system which excludes religious teaching. I need not say, once more, that I do not oppose common or public schools, as such, for the fact is,

that public schools owe their first establishment in the world to a *religious* sentiment and *religious* authority. As early as *Anno Domini* 529, a Council of the Catholic Church (Vaison), recommended the establishment of Public schools. A Synod at Mentz, held in 800, ordered that the parochial priests should have schools in the towns and villages; in order, said the Synod, that, "the little children of all the faithful should learn letters from them. Let them receive and teach these with the utmost charity, that they themselves may shine as stars for ever. Let them receive no remuneration from their scholars, unless what the parents, through charity, may voluntarily offer." A council, held in Rome in 836, describes the different kinds of schools to be established through christendom; not only in towns and villages, but wherever there could be found place or opportunity.

The spirit of the church has not changed, and as the church likes schools so do I. Public schools, Common schools, schools for the rich and for the poor; but I like them *all* to be christian schools; and I repudiate pagan or godless schools, as I repudiate the spirit of the age, which tends to inculcate the doctrine that God has nothing to do with the things of this world, and that His teaching is not the sole guide of society, as well as of the intellect.

The end of education is to develop the faculties of the soul. And in so doing, becomes, as it were, another faculty at the service of those who have the advantage of being educated. But this faculty may be pernicious as well as it may turn to be useful. To be advantageous, *even socially*, education must be directed by religion. Guizot says: "Popular education to be truly good and *socially useful*, must be fundamentally religious." Experience shows that knowledge without religion is exceedingly baneful: those who have done most harm to humanity were learned men. The same conviction is expressed as follows, by Lord Derby: "Religion is not a thing apart from education, but it is interwoven with its whole system; it is a principle which controls and regulates the whole mind and happiness of the people." The unsec-

tarian system is quite contrary to these views, and opposed to the welfare of society, because it does not prepare the heart for the duties of life. Hear the Protestant Bishop of Tennessee:—"The secular system took no notice of God or of Christ, or of the church of the living God, or, except in the most incidental way, of God's Holy Word. The intellect was stimulated to the highest degree, but the heart and the affections were left uncultivated. It was a system which trained for the business of life, not for the duties of life."—Nobody then ought to wonder at the disastrous consequences of the system.

Governor Brown, addressing the seventh National Teachers' convention in St. Louis, did not hesitate to say: "It is a very customary declaration to pronounce that education is the greatest safeguard of republics against the decay of virtue and the reign of immorality. Yet the facts can scarcely bear out the proposition. The highest civilizations, both ancient and modern, have sometimes been the most flagitious. Nowadays, certainly, your prime rascals have been educated rascals.

"And it is at least doubtful whether education in itself, as now engineered, and confined merely to the acquisition of knowledge, has any tendency to mitigate the vicious elements of human nature, farther than to change the direction and type of crime.

"This is not alleged, be it understood, of moral culture or religious instruction but simply of the education of the intellect."

The thing is so clear and so manifest, that many organs of publicity in New York, through New England and elsewhere, readily acknowledged that the corruption which is spreading, at an awful rate, in the United States, is the result of the suppression of religious instruction in the Public schools of the country. It cannot be otherwise, because if, in the culture of man you neglect a part of himself, you destroy the just equilibrium between his natural faculties. The culture of the intellect, at the cost of moral and religious feelings, is nothing but a dangerous tool that your pupil will use against himself and against society. Suppose a two-edged weapon,

pointed at both ends, but having no handle with which to use and direct it. Such a weapon could not be employed without being hurtful, and so so much the more so as it is sharpened all around with greater care and perfection. This extraordinary instrument would be an image of the intellect cultivated without the aid of religion. Such tuition is so much the more dangerous, as it seems more refined and perfect; while, in reality, there is nothing to guide and direct it.

An illiterate individual may ignore the law of God, and be wicked enough to do evil. But, as a rule, all the harm he does is on a small scale; while a large field for mischief is at the disposal of an educated man, who has neither the knowledge nor the love of the divine Law. Peter Chrysologus calls teachers of youth, the "substitutes of angels." There is no exaggeration in such a sublime appellation, provided the teacher is a real "messenger of God," one who brings the good tidings, one who guides the heart, one who enlightens and directs the soul in the way to praise God, to pray to Him and to please Him. Teaching is a sublime apostolate, a noble mission, provided always, it contributes to form the heart of the young and follows the injunction of the Divine Master: "Suffer little children to come to me."

On the other hand, the noble profession loses its sublime character in receiving little children to hand them back to society without that which must guide them through life. This is refusing the little ones the bread of divine knowledge: "The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it unto them."

Unsectarian schools forget that the Saviour says: "Whoever shall receive one such little child *in my name* receiveth me." Such a system has, necessarily, an influence over the hearts of the children committed to its guidance. And, as it does not help in bringing them to God, it is sure to take them from Him. Consequently, it scandalizes the children, at least, by defect to teach them what they need for themselves and for society. And this scandal is denounced very severely by God, who

says: "But he that shall scandalize one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill stone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

We all know what paganism gave to society. Why then endeavor to establish a system of education, having for its inevitable result, the bringing back to paganism, countries civilized by christian teaching?

Social order requires mutual confidence between different ranks and conditions.—But what kind of confidence can be reposed on one who has no religious instruction? Outside of religious considerations, egotism is the sole motive of those who act. And such motive of action makes of all the members of society, so many enemies of its general welfare; because the individual, resuming all his aspirations in self, will turn against society whenever it may suit his interests. And we may safely say that the refinement of irreligious Public Schools can do no better than render the people refined pagans.

The system of education without religion, tends to nothing less than to poison the happiness of families; and a child under its guidance, is greatly exposed to lose respect and obedience for its parents. Suppose an adolescent, in unfavorable circumstances, whose intellect has been very highly stimulated in godless schools; what do you think he will be at home? His parents may not have received the same degree of instruction, or may have lost it amidst the toils and troubles of a life of labor. Poverty does not, by itself, take away the sensibility and tender feelings of the heart; but, too often, it singularly diminishes the pleasant countenance and amenity of manners. And then it is of daily occurrence, to see young men of unsectarian education, despise their poor mother; forget her tenderness and affection, and merely call her with indifference and disrespect, "*the old woman*." The father, who has nothing to give, but his labor and the sweat of his brow, is often styled by his learned son, "*the cross old man*." Religious instruction would have counterbalanced the propensity of slightly educated youth, to believe themselves

superior to their parents, who have encountered the sad realities of life, and who have amassed no fortune.

The culture of the intellect without that of the heart, develops the spirit of vanity in children of the poorest classes. Associated in school, with children in better circumstances, the child of the poor bears, in that respect, a pressure which has the most deplorable consequences. Such a child often becomes insolent towards his parents, on a mere question of dress. It is not enough for him to see his father hard at work earning bread for the family, and his mother worn out with fatigue; the young man who receives instruction not interwoven with feeling, becomes the torment of a poor family, and becomes more and more troublesome, as he expects, thereby, to force his parents to satisfy his vanity. How many mothers have shed the bitterest tears, how many fathers have over-worked themselves and injured their health to have peace with their unfortunate sons, who had received instruction without being educated!!

A great difference is found in children who receive the education of the heart; religious instruction along with the culture of their understanding. Such education makes the child remember one of the reasons for bearing with patience, and even with a certain amount of satisfaction, the hardships and humiliations of poverty, for he has often heard the words: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for their's is the kingdom of heaven." He lovingly recalls the words: "He that honoreth his father shall enjoy long life. He that honoreth his mother is as one that layeth up a treasure." And, should the impetuosity of youth be menacing, christian teaching will remind him "of what an evil fame is he that forsaketh his father? and he is cursed of God that angereth his mother."

These lessons, more profitable to society than any profane acquirement, would keep peace, harmony, and happiness under the roof of the poor as well as as of the rich, and throughout the whole social body. The teacher who inculcates such principles in the hearts of his pupils, largely contributes to the public welfare, and in particular, to the comfort of pa-

rents who have entrusted their children to his care. The young man who has received such instruction from a learned and respected teacher, will find no weariness in the company of his parents; and a shabby dress will less hurt his pride when he remembers it is written: "The son of man hath not where to lay his head."

Besides the examples of the Divine Redeemer, religious teaching of history will offer, for the admiration and imitation of pupils, a number of illustrious personages who, amidst the greatest and most complete destitution, extended the culture of their mind to the highest degree, and formed their hearts to the most heroic virtues. Children of christian education, will console and honor their parents, while those trained under the other system will despise, desert and abandon them. Yes, there is a vast difference between good and bad instruction; between religious and irreligious training; between the mere culture of the intellect and the development of all the good dispositions of the human soul, in a word, between Christian and Godless schools.

The Pagan system cannot fail to favor the passions, but fails to render virtuous. It neither affords a remedy against evil inclinations, nor gives what is necessary to strengthen the will against them.

All the "learned" of unchristian schools, cannot obtain situations corresponding with the instruction they have received, and, much less, with the ambition it has excited. What then is to be the social fate of a young man who, through all his school training, received neither religious nor moral instruction, who, consequently—as far as his schooling goes—is perfectly ignorant of divine law and of his obligations towards society? He daily witnesses the comfort and luxury of the rich, sometimes his inferiors with regard to instruction. What motive can encourage him to endure poverty or prevent him from using illegitimate means to get money? He feels strongly inclined to enjoy absolute freedom and independence; what motive can determine him to submit to any authority or law?

The strength of the police is the only means at the command of society, for its protection. But

woe to society if the police be weak and unvigilant ! It would be a poor defence against a crowd of *crim-dits* without position or resource, without even the desire of honest but humble labor, the latter being considered, by them, as unworthy of the instruction they have received.

Crime is, by no means, the result of ignorance in reading or writing : but it is, by all means, the result of ignorance or neglect of the law of God. Consequently, human knowledge, without religious knowledge, far from being a prevention of crime is, in too many instances, a source of temptation, so much the greater as human knowledge itself affords the means of satisfying the passions and of concealing the faults committed.

This ought to be kept in mind, in order to judge fairly of the social results of the "non-sectarian" school system. Some twenty years after it had been established in the United States, the "Church Journal," in an article headed ; "The Common School System a Failure," said, "The Common School System is proving a disastrous failure. It has grown up on the pledges it has given of its ability to make crime less frequent, to confer greater security to life and property, and to give elevation to the tone of national morality. But it does not at all fulfil these promises. The whole system, we regret, is proving a lamentable failure. . . . The prevailing system is lamentably defective ; in that it does not aim at the training of the whole man ; neglecting as it does, the moral and controlling powers of human nature, and concentrating all its force upon the development of the intellectual powers. The prevalent notion that mankind are vicious because ignorant, and that to make them ^{vicious} ~~vicious~~ it is only necessary to make them intelligent, is contradicted alike by sound philosophy and universal experience.

The "Richmond Examiner," another Protestant paper, published at the same time the following :— "The worst of all the abominations, because, once installed, it becomes the hot-bed propagator of all"—is the modern system of Free Schools."

No wonder that a report of the Prison Association of New York, revealed a "most alarming in-

crease of crime, since the introduction of the Common School System into the country."

What shall I say now of the awful consequences of the system, with regard to its deplorable neglect in the training of the female portion of the community? Without giving my own appreciation, I will approach the subject by the following, written by a distinguished American Lady. (M. M. page 119). "Above all you can notice in the young women of the present day a madness beyond description for dress, for balls, theatres, and all kinds of worldly amusements. The chief mental agony of the masses of the young women of the present day seems to be, who shall have the largest waterfall, the smallest bonnet, and make themselves the greatest fright. Were it not for their vain daughters, hundreds of parents at this moment would have a happier countenance, and not that careworn wretched look that we so frequently see when honest people get in debt, incurred by living beyond their means.

"In Boston, a short time ago, one hundred and eighty unfortunate girls were arrested in one night; and I doubt not that the greater portion of them could have *once* been respectable servants, but considered the office and *name too low*! It is this delusion, this false pride, that crowds the streets nightly with pretty young girls, some of them count only twelve short summers. With Hamlet, I exclaim, 'Oh, horrible! most horrible.'"

"The truth is, that after a girl is fifteen years old, in this country, she considers herself a person of *sound judgment*. These girls are simply living pictures walking about the earth, deriding everything they are incapable of understanding. And who could be charmed with such women?—with 'Grecian bends,' 'Grecian noses'?"

I naturally leave the responsibility of the picture to the one who has drawn it. I have no personal knowledge of the moral and social condition of the young women of the eastern cities of the United States. In travelling, I sometimes witnessed things I would have liked to see different; but I am not inclined to judge a people, or a portion of them, by

observations, necessarily superficial and void of all that, in my estimation, is requisite to judge soundly. It is quite averse to my disposition to follow the course of travellers who pass severe condemnation, on things, persons and manners they are perfectly unacquainted with. Noble countries and moral populations have been, too often, victims of the levity and unfairness of judgment on the part of tourists. I will not fall into the same error, nor assume such responsibility. Nevertheless, as I oppose a system I believe dangerous, nobody can find fault with me for searching for proofs in the *very and only* country where the system has been tried for a certain period. Meanwhile, having to mention very grave affirmations, I shall avoid any quotation from parties who might be suspected of being animated by national prejudice. I shall, merely, quote from American authorities; from newspapers, avowedly and truly, devoted to the honor and welfare of their country.

A work entitled "Satan in Society," and published by a well known American physician, not satisfied with statements that corroborate what I have just cited, does not hesitate to attribute to the "non-sectarian school system" the horrible revelations it contains. A great deal cannot be reproduced here. The following is sufficient (page 194):

"The evils and dangers of the present system of education, and bringing up the boys and girls of our country, are too obvious to require minute description. Irreligion and infidelity are progressing *pari passu* with the advance guards of immorality and crime; and all are fostered, if not engendered, by the materialistic system of school instruction, and the consequent wretched training at home and on the play-ground. The entire absence of all religious instruction from the school room is fast bearing fruit in a generation of infidels, and we are becoming worse even than the Pagans of old, who had at least their positive sciences of philosophy, and their religion, such as it was, to oppose which was a criminal offence.

"But we have not only the removal of the salutary restraints of religious influence from our popular system of education: we have the pro-

"miscellaneous intermingling of the sexes in our public schools, which, however much we may theorize to the contrary, is, to say the least, subversive of that modest reserve and shyness which in all ages have proved the true axis of virtue. We are bound to accept human nature as it is, and not as we would wish it to be, and both Christian and Pagan philosophy agree in detecting therein certain very dangerous elements. . . . Nourished by languishing glances during the hours passed in the school room, framed by more intimate association on the journey to and from school, fed by stolen interviews, and openly arranged festivities—pic nics, excursions, parties and the like—stimulated by the prurient gossip of the newspaper, the flash novels, sentimental weeklies and magazines, the gallant of twelve years is the libertine of fourteen. That this picture is not overdrawn, every experienced physician will bear witness.

"And as for the Public School girls, they return from their '*potishing schools*'—these demoiselles—cursed with a superficial smattering of everything but what they ought to have learned—physical and moral wrecks, whom we, physicians, are expected to *wind up* in the morning for the husband-hunting excitements of the evening. And these creatures are intended for wives! But *wives* only, for it is fast going out of fashion to intend them for *mothers*—an 'accident' of the kind being regarded as 'foolish'!

"We assert, then, that the present system of education, by its faults of omission and commission, is directly responsible, not, it is true, for the bare existence, but for the enormous prevalence of vices and crimes which we deplore; and we call upon the civil authorities to so modify the obnoxious arrangements of our schools, and upon parents and guardians to so instruct and govern their charges, that the evils may be suppressed, if not extinguished."

After reading the above, it is more regrettable than surprising that Mr. W. H. Storey was forced to publish, in his paper, the Chicago "Times," and to sustain the assertion that: "The Public

"School System in Chicago had become so corrupt, that any school-boy attending, who had reached fourteen years of age, was whistled at by his companions as a *spooney*, if he had not a *luncheon* with some one or more of the public school girls!"

The Daily "Sentinel," of Indianapolis, quoted Mr. Storey's articles, and added that: "It was only too true of Indianapolis, also, judging by the wanton manners of troops of the girls attending public schools in Indianapolis."

The disastrous social results of the unsectarian school system are plainly lamentable, as shown in the following editorial article of the Boston Daily Herald, of October 20th, 1871: "Year after year the Chief of Police publishes his statistics of prostitution in this city, but how few of the citizens bestow more than a passing thought upon the misery they represent! Although these figures are large enough to make every lover of humanity hang his head with feelings of sorrow and shame at the picture, we are assured that they represent but a little, as it were, of the actual licentiousness that prevails among all classes of society. Within a few months, a gentleman, (Prof. Agassiz), whose scientific attainments have made his name a household word in all lands, has personally investigated the subject, and the result has filled him with dismay; when he sees the depths of degradation to which men and women have fallen, he has almost lost faith in the boasted civilization of the nineteenth century. In the course of his inquiries, he has visited both the well-known 'house of pleasure' and the 'private establishments' scattered all over the city. He states that he has a list of both, with the street and number, the number of inmates, and many other facts that would perfectly astonish the people if made public. He freely conversed with the inmates, and the life-histories that were revealed were sad indeed. To his utter surprise, a large proportion of the 'soiled doves' traced their fall to influences that met them in the Public Schools; and although Boston is justly proud of its schools, it would seem, from his story, that they need a thorough purification."

"In too many of them, the most obscene and soul-polluting books and pictures circulate among both sexes. The very secrecy with which it is done, throws an almost irresistible charm about it; and to such an extent has the evil gone, that we fear a large proportion of both boys and girls possess some of the articles, which they kindly(?) lend to each other. The natural result follows, and frequently the most debasing and revolting practices are indulged in. And the evil is not confined alone to Boston. Other cities suffer in the same way. It is but a few years since the second city in the commonwealth was stirred almost to its foundations by the discovery of an association of boys and girls who were wont to indulge their passions in one of the school-houses of the city; and not long ago, another somewhat similar affair was discovered by the authorities, but hushed up for fear of depopulating the schools."

Enough on a subject so painful and so delicate. Respect for the reader does not allow me the reproduction of numerous testimonies I have at hand, based on multiplied facts which show how far the non-sectarian school system has been prejudicial to the nations that have adopted it. Persons versed in statistics, cannot help being horrified at what they establish on the subject. Let those who take an interest in this mighty social question, compute the official figures given in public documents, and they will soon become convinced that education, even when largely diffused, but not based on religion, is never beneficial to society; and that philanthropists have every reason to join with christians in the adoption of a mode of education capable of remedying the evil. The very nature of the too well-known evil forces me to be reticent; but I am sure to be understood by those who are expected to guide public opinion.

Alluding to the same subject, the eloquent Bishop McQuaid, in a public lecture on schools says: "Down to this depth of religious degradation have the christian people of this state (New York) fallen. We, Catholics, believe that they forsook their earlier system of education to keep us from

"its advantages and to hurt our church. They have hurt themselves as christians and honest men; they have emasculated education of all that gives it vitalizing power; they have helped to place the canker-worm of infidelity in the body politic, through the children; we have suffered in a pecuniary way, and because, like good citizens, we suffer when the country suffers."

I will take the liberty to say to the people of Manitoba. Be persuaded that the proposed system would be still more pernicious to Protestants than to Catholics. Catholics repudiate the scheme, its establishment would throw obstacles in the way of education of their children and drive them away from the Public schools; then parents would have to establish schools of their own. So Catholics would suffer pecuniarily, being deprived of the advantage to be derived from a liberal system of education, but the very supporters of the non-sectarian system would, here as elsewhere, reap its bitterest fruits, its social demoralization. Our loss would be external, theirs would be internal. The journal of commerce, already cited, affirms as follows: "As Protestant, from the most earnest conviction, we believe that nothing has contributed so much to the extension of the Roman Catholic organization and influence in this country, as the partial persecutions it has received."

There is not the slightest doubt that the Public school system has obliged the Catholics of the United States to take an exceptional position and has rallied them closely together, and finally hastened their development and strengthened them as a body. Their school organization, weak and despised at first is such now, that several religious denominations are following the example in establishing schools of their own. It is not the first time that vexation has turned to the advantage of the vexed and to the disappointment of the vexers.

There can be no real *social advantage* to compensate for the real *social disadvantage* of Godless tuition.

Let us examine the pretexts under which it is proposed as being *socially advantageous*: It is said

that a system allowing freedom of education, *increases materially the expenses*. I am very far from endorsing such an idea, and I am certain that a system of Public Schools which *allows full freedom about religion*, naturally satisfies the religious feeling of the people, and that very feeling is the abundant source from which liberalities flow, largely contributing to promote education. It is the same religious feeling that inspires thousands of persons with the desire to devote the selves entirely to the noble task of educating the young, *without large pecuniary remuneration*. The establishment of "non-sectarian schools" would put a stop to the resources flowing from christian charity, and, consequently, throw on taxation the whole burden of supporting schools. The prohibition of religious teaching shuts the door of the schools to the *clergy of all denominations*, to the religious bodies who devote their whole existence to the instruction of youth. This is, indeed, the object infidels have in view, but it is surely not desirable on economical grounds.

The moment you shut schools against the religious sentiment, you open them to a sentiment of cupidity. Hear what Muller says in his book on "Public school education" page 171: "There is one view in which the public will agree in regard to the Public Schools, it is that they cost too much money. For the management of the godless Public Schools there is a costly array of "Commissioners," and "Inspectors," and "Trustees," and Superintendents," and "Secretaries of Boards," and "Central Officers," all in league with "Contractors," to make "a good thing,"—"so-called—out of the plan. We have, now, contractors for buildings and repairs, contractors for furniture, contractors for books, contractors for furnaces, contractors for fuel, contractors even for pianos, and all making money out of it. The "Boards" that give the contracts do not make any money by way of commissions, do they? Ah! you know full well that hundreds of thousands of dollars are annually spent or squandered in running these Public Schools, and which are re

"commended, in a particular manner, for their
"economy!"

As expressed above, there is in the administration of godless schools, abundant room for immense gain and undesirable speculations. And who will pay all the profits made out of the school organization? The Public Treasury or rather the rate payers. It is for the latter not to allow themselves to be deceived by promises of economy, while; in fact, the system proposed is *essentially and necessarily more expensive* than the other. From the statistics I have before me, I find that the public unsectarian schools of the United States, cost yearly from twenty to thirty dollars for every child attending them; while the denominational schools, in the same country, merely cost from six to seven dollars per child.

I have already reported the public challenge made by the Bishop of Rochester, "to bring out all the children of these denominational schools and place them side by side with the children of any other schools in the city for examination," and the assurance that the Catholic schools of that city are in no way inferior to others. Nevertheless, in that very city of Rochester, the Public Schools that gather within their walls between five and six thousand children, cost yearly from \$100,000 to \$120,000. The fact is, that one-fifth of the whole municipal taxation of several cities, is expended for the Public Schools even when,—as it occurs in some instances—no more than the half of the school population of the same cities, are attending the same Public Schools.

The more "crippled" the resources of the Province are the more desirable it is to leave to all religious denominations, the most complete freedom in education.

It cannot be expected that people will be earnest in the support of a system offensive to their conscientious convictions. Consequently, those who believe that the hearty co-operation of the people is required to raise the character of the education given to our people, ought to avoid, in their scheme, the very thing that would prevent this hearty co operation.

No doubt, there is a difficulty in thinly peopled localities where the inhabitants are divided with regard to religious convictions, but the way to adjust the difficulty is not to impose a system against the will of the interested parties. In exceptional circumstances, it is generally possible to come to an agreement; and parties will always agree more easily, with the managers of a school that openly shows its tendencies and its means of securing them, than with managers of a school which, under the pretext of teaching no religion, practices, in reality, the most dangerous hostility.

Some say that it is a crime for the State not to establish such school as would in fact please themselves. Were the opinion of such economists adopted, the State would soon become a criminal not to be tolerated. The obligation of the State in reference to education is identical with its obligations in reference to the other necessities of its subjects. The State is obliged to educate, to the same extent that it is obliged to lodge, feed, clothe, doctor and warm people, that is to say, the State is obliged to make such laws and incur such expenses, as would protect and help the people in their reasonable efforts to lodge, feed, and clothe themselves. But it could not be a crime for the State to refrain from obliging—by taxation—every one to resort to such or such lodging, to use peculiar diet, or to dress in a certain attire.

The question of education presents itself under the same aspect. The State is bound to protect and facilitate teaching, but it is not its duty, nor even its right, to take hold of education in an arbitrary way, by disregarding the reasonable wishes of parents.

How can it be a crime for the State to abstain from doing wrong and oppressing the people?

With high sounding words, people express very empty theories, and treat the question of education in a manner that would be perfectly ridiculous if applied to the most ordinary necessities of life.

It is, undoubtedly, desirable that all citizens know their rights, as they are all bound to know their duties. It is quite proper that everyone use, with intelligence, all the advantages conferred by

the free and noble institutions which govern the country; but to obtain such a result, it is in no way necessary or even desirable that a "non-sectarian system of Public *English* schools," be substituted to the one we possess. I put the word *English* in italics because it is employed by the parties I oppose, in a way antagonistic to the use of the French language. By the constitution of the Province, as well as by that of the Dominion, both languages are on the same footing, and the abolition of either of them would be anti-constitutional and illegal. Such a course is not necessary "for fulfilling the duties of social life, for preserving the rights of all, and for carrying on successfully the affairs of the State."

How unacquainted some Canadians seem to be with the history of their country! The public men of Canada so warmly praised by Lord Dufferin in a public speech at Windsor, were all educated in FRENCH CATHOLIC Institutions, and His Excellency, alluding to French Canadians, said: "It is not to be forgotten that it is to their elevation of mind, to their love of freedom and to their due appreciation of civil rights contained in germ in the Constitution first granted by England to Canada, that we are indebted for the parliamentary autonomy of which the country is so justly proud."

I would now say but one word to repudiate the assertion that we oppose the *non-sectarian* system because we wish to keep people in ignorance. Such an assertion is too mean to deserve any refutation, but, without hesitation, I will say to the detractors: do for education, with means equal to those at my command, more than I have done for the sacred cause; and I promise to acknowledge that you are in the right. But until then, please do not insult persons who have nothing more at heart than the enlightenment and the prosperity of the country. Please, do not utter an assertion that any one acquainted with us would repudiate as groundless and deceitful.

It cannot be maintained that *hostile feelings* are the result of christian teaching, whose main object is to inspire charity. Hostility, under the pretence of religion, is nothing but an abuse of the latter

word, and its cause ought to be searched for, *outside of christian schools.*

Writings, secret associations, discourses, *such as could not be tolerated in christian schools*, are the sources from which hostility flows. Our schools are very little known by men like him who wrote the following to the "Manitoba daily Free Press" on the 10th of January 1876: "There are very strong reasons to suspect that the Roman Catholic schools, hatred to Protestants as heretics, is taught as a duty."

As it is of the utmost importance that the Protestant population be informed exactly of what Catholic school teaching is concerning them, I will take the liberty to give my personal experience in the matter, and hope to be forgiven for drawing attention to myself personally. Born of pious Catholic parents I received from my infancy religious catholic instruction and witnessed, at home, even the most minute practices of catholic piety. At the age of five years, I began to go to school, and the same school was catholic with daily religious instruction, and under the direction of the parish priest. At the age of ten I left home and school to go as boarder to a college, whose entire staff of directors and teachers, are ecclesiastics. I remained there eight years, to complete the classical course and the study of philosophy. I then determined to join the church, and began the study of theology and other ecclesiastical branches. This lasted four years and at the age of twenty-two, I was ordained priest. I do not wonder at hearing some one say—what business has the public with a sketch of your life?—just a moment of patience, please. I am writing this passage for those who have sufficient leisure to read all the injurious accusations brought against catholic institutions and catholic training; and to prove to them, that I have "very strong reasons" not only "to suspect" but even to firmly believe "that hatred to Protestants is" NOT "taught" either in Roman Catholic families or in Roman Catholic Institutions. I here solemnly declare, and "God knoweth that I lie not," *that, through all my training at home, at school, at college and in the THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, I never received a lesson that could in the least, in-*

duce me to hatred to Protestants or, in fact, to any human being, and I may add that, faithful to the teaching I received, I have never experienced a feeling of hatred to any one on account of his religion.

I am not an exception in this respect. The education I received is the same given in all Catholic Institutions. The men who direct the state, who compose the clergy, the Bench and the learned professions, in the Province of Quebec, received education similar to mine, in one or another of the sixteen classical colleges in that Province (all in charge of ecclesiastics) and in which 4,000 pupils are yearly educated. I have no hesitation in saying that they have all made the same experience as myself, and would willingly endorse my assertion.

The fact is, that in almost all the classical and industrial colleges of Quebec, as well as in all the convents for the education of young ladies, there are Protestant pupils, and I would not dread to call them as witnesses of the truth of what I affirm.

I am even exceedingly surprised at people expressing different views. "God is charity" and how can the knowledge of God dispose the soul or heart to hatred? We claim the privilege of teaching, in our schools, the commandments of the Lord, and the Catechism daily taught in our schools, and pointed out by some people as objectionable, gives the following instruction, which I copy from lesson XIX.

Question—To how many commandments may the ten commandments be reduced?

Answer—To these two principal commandments: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself. This do and thou shalt live. Luke X. Mark, XXI.*

Q.—And who is my neighbor? *Luke X., 29.*

A.—Mankind of every description, and without any exception of persons, even those who injure us, or differ from us in religion.

Q.—How am I to love my neighbor as myself?

A.—As you would, says Christ, that men should do to you, do also to them in like manner. *Luke, VI. 36.*

Q.—What particular duties are required of me by that rule?

A.—Never to injure your neighbor by word or deed, in his person, property, or character; to wish well to him, and to pray for him; and always to assist him, as far as you are able, in his spiritual and corporal necessities.

Q.—Am I also obliged to love my enemies?

A.—Most certainly. *Love your enemies, says Christ do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you. Luke VI. Math. V.*

Such are the teachings to be found in the hands, on the lips, and, as far as teachers can command, in the hearts of pupils of Catholic schools.

Mr. Editor, I began this publication by the assertion that the system termed "non-sectarian Public Schools" meets with no sympathy on my part, and, in order to give my reason, I begged of you to be kind enough to allow me to publish in your columns what I think of the system from a legal, religious and social point of view. I have accomplished my task, and I can safely answer for the double feeling I have experienced during the course of these long—perhaps too long—series of observations:

1st. My only desire is to help in the great and sacred cause of education, to promote the welfare of this Province, my only home, and to secure a perfect understanding among the different sections of its people, my countrymen.

2nd. I feel very thankful for your condescension in publishing such a lengthy document, perhaps not always in accordance with your own views and those of a certain number of your readers. Accept, therefore, my sincere thanks and best wishes.

Yours respectfully,

† ALEX. ARCH. of ST. BONIFACE.

O. M. T.

P.S. Three articles having appeared in the Winnipeg newspapers, relative to the first part of the above letter, I beg leave to ask further space to examine them.

The first article is an editorial of the "Manitoba Free Press" 31st Jan. I thank the editor for the kind appreciation of my work, as well as for the clear and

fair analysis of the same. I must, however, confess that I cannot understand when the author says: "we need but refer to the disingenuousness of the 'the parallel, in the letter which has elicited these remarks, sought to be drawn by the writer between a suppositions attempt to deprive the Protestant majority of the Province of Quebec of their educational rights or privileges and the agitation began in this Province.'"

"Protestant majority of the Province of Quebec" is, undoubtedly, a typographical error. As to the parallel I have established. I will repeat it and show its ingenuousness in the following form:

QUEBEC.

The Protestant minority of Quebec has educational rights.

The Legislature of Quebec cannot modify the school system of the Province in a way repugnant to the educational rights of its Protestant minority.

Should the Legislature of Quebec attempt to deprive the Protestant minority of its educational rights, such attempt would be illegal.

Should the Legislature of Quebec enact in violation of the educational rights of the Protestant minority of that Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General &c., &c.

MANITOBA.

The Catholic minority of Manitoba has educational rights.

The Legislature of Manitoba cannot modify the school system of the Province in a way repugnant to the educational rights of its Catholic minority.

Should the Legislature of Manitoba attempt to deprive the Catholic minority of its educational rights, such attempt would be illegal.

Should the Legislature of Manitoba enact in violation of the educational rights of the Catholic minority of that Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General &c., &c.

It seems impossible to imagine a parallel more ingenious and more complete than the above.

Protestants and Catholics may not, and do not, agree on what they consider as prejudicial to their respective educational rights, but both sections be-

ing on equal footing before the law, it is for each of them to pronounce what is, and what is not, contrary to its conscientious convictions.

Certainly "all the children would" not "meet in the schools upon an equal footing," when such schools are condemned by the religion of some of the children, while approved, of or at least tolerated, by the religion of their school mates.

Two correspondences have appeared in the STANDARD. The first dated Dec. 31st, i.e., January 31st 1877, signed "One of the 'Five,'" and comprehending fifteen paragraphs.

The second published in the STANDARD of March 10th, by "Libertas" and republished under the form of a Pamphlet.

These two correspondences greatly differ; still, as they have a common object, I shall examine them both together.

"One of the 'Five'" says that I am "fighting behind the mask." "Libertas" says: "when an Archbishop writes a book, there are a number of people quite overcome by it." The fact is, I neither concealed any name nor invoked my title. I was writing a letter and, according to general practice, I was, awaiting the end of it to sign my name.

"One of the 'Five'" says that, in the part of my letter he opposes, "the writer is generally clear enough," and "Libertas" affirms "that there are points on which the pamphleteer is strong." May I say that this is the most I expected even from friends. Among other reasons, the way I have employed many of my best years, has persuaded me that I have no claim as an elegant writer, and I have no such pretension even in my mother-tongue, much less in the English language, in which I am so little versed. But I confess that in writing on the important question of education, I accomplished a duty, *with the desire of being* "clear enough" to be generally understood, and to bring some "strong points" in support of my opinions.

I will neither trouble the reader nor myself about certain *amiabilities* from my opponents towards "Catholic doctrine," and "Catholics" and

"servile parliaments" and Government House in "Winnipeg making snarling attacks from behind," and "weak-kneed members of Parliament" and "those who are willing to be cajoled by the sight of a mitre and a shepherd's crook" and "Quebec constituencies going to the dogs," &c., &c.

I took the liberty to criticise the way a portion of the Protestant Section of the Board of Education had acted. I also stated that most of the members were not present at a certain meeting, but, I too highly respect the Board to say with "Libertas": "the heels of a few refractory members of the Board of Education were nipped" and "those dear good men . . . have no care for (Education) such matters." Nor will I say with "One of the 'Five'": "Protestants may well ask in what sense they represent them."

It is a proof of weakness of argument, on the part of those who argue, to stray from the question at issue, to be led by imagination. Both correspondents have done so.

"One of the 'Five'" exclaims: "Is such a country to be cursed with a system that argues and necessitates inferior and ill-furnished school-houses, poorly paid unintellectual and uneducated teachers, skeleton schools, and ignorant people! "Libertas" adds, in his usual strain: "Would we have our people the ignorant tools of designing men, would we have the country retarded in the industrial arts, would we have political charlatans rising to hold the chief places in the state, will we have a large mass of the rising youth of the country absolutely ignorant, unable to read and write." You are too intelligent, gentlemen, not to notice that you deviate from the point under discussion. Nobody is so stupid as to aim at what you mention, and, to use your own words, "reason and common sense" do not lead to such an unfair appreciation of my desires and sayings.

My two contradictors agree on the propriety of agitating the country on the subject; making of education, a political and sectarian concern. "One of the 'Five'" says: "your correspondent may say what he pleases, but the Protestant population feel deeply on this question and members of

"Parliament must give pledges to their constituents when they seek re-election.

"*Libertas*", always warmly toned, makes the following appeal: "Friends! sweet friends, worthy successors of Cranmer and Knox, will ye not forget the past? will you not ally yourselves with the gentle, lamb-like successor of Gardiner and Bonner?" To secure the politico-religious excitement desired, the "putting to death of the unfortunate Scott" is one more alluded to. Parties using such language will not easily persuade thinking men that they have no sectarian views, in advocating the so-called—unsectarian system!

To atone for such appeals to excitement and passions, the appealers admit that "Catholics are at liberty to establish and maintain schools," but on the condition of "public money—their (Catholics) money to some extent—being used," for the exclusive benefit of non-Catholics; with the understanding, no doubt, that the assessments on Catholic property would also go to the benefit of schools, Catholics cannot be benefited by.

The use of "guillemets" is very important, as it appears in the two following instances: "One of the 'five' pronounces a part of my 'translation particularly, faulty,' and objects especially to my using the words 'PERSONAL VIEWS.'" These words *are not mine* as may be easily found out in the report of a meeting of the Protestant Section of the Board of Education, held on the 19th January last. "Rev. Mr. Robertson expressed his PERSONAL VIEWS as strongly opposed to the teaching 'of religion in the Public Schools.'" I copied the words without suspecting they were unintelligible, and, unintentionally, omitted to mark them with inverted commas. Hence the fatal error! A similar omission, on my part, has misled "*Libertas*," who affirms that, while endeavoring in my "introduction" to show that separate schools are in existence in this Province. I am "plainly nervous," I am nervous indeed, because that part of my letter is full of nerve and strength, being almost exclusively, the history of our school system copied from official documents and the *very text of our school laws*, as expressed in our different statutes; as, for

instance, in 36 Victoria, Chap., XXII. Having no suspicion that our school laws could be so completely ignored, I neglected to place quotation marks. Hence, the error with "Libertas," who qualifies the mere reproduction of our school laws, a fit of nervousness. No wonder that he afterwards affirms that my statements "are not in accordance with facts," when I say that the *Protestant schools are entirely under the control and jurisdiction of Protestants*. Is "Libertas" in Manitoba? and if so, how is he so completely unaware of the condition of the schools in the country? The two sections of the Board of Education, all the different Boards of Trustees, everyone connected in any degree whatsoever with the management of our schools, know perfectly well that my above statement is in accordance with facts.

The two correspondents who know how to agree, know also how to disagree.

ONE OF THE "FIVE"

"The result was that the Bill—for towns and cities—was eviscerated and mutilated, so as to be scarcely recognizable.

"When your correspondent denies that two systems cover the ground is he not quibbling, hair splitting or dwivelling.

"Protestants object to public money—their money to some extent—being used to disseminate views they reject and which they

"LIBERTAS."

"The Board of Education is one; last year unitedly devised the schools law for towns and cities."

"The Government grant is voted for one system of schools." . . .
"Catholic and Protestant schools are simply the result of differentiation as to administration, while forming part of one organic whole. The writer of the pamphlet, by the use of generalities very smoothly slips over this question."

"The Government grant is divided according to the population of children—no special rights are given to

"think prejudicial to the
 "best interests of the
 "State.
 "Protestants think it is
 "an injustice to pay for
 "them—Catholic schools—
 "with public funds."

"The schools of the
 "Catholic section are
 "Roman Catholic schools
 "maintained to teach
 "the principles of Ro-
 "man Catholic religion.

"either Catholics or
 "Protestants—all mon-
 "eys are equitably dis-
 "tributed—even the tax-
 "es of corporate bodies
 "being divided accord-

ing to school population.

Schools in Manitoba

"are in no sense sepa-

"rate schools." They are

"called for convenience

"Roman Catholic and

"Protestant" because the

"limits of language cor-

"respond almost entire-

"ly with those of

"religion in this Pro-

"vince."

I am at a loss to reconcile the above contradic-
 tory statements of my two opponents; but between
 them both I find enough to corroborate some of my
 own assertions.

"Libertas" forgets that in the Province of Que-
 bec, some of the *Disentient Schools* are *Roman Ca-*
tholic, and his whole theory to prove what does not
 exist, is necessarily defective. The word *separate*
 is perfectly adapted to express the distinction which
 exists between Protestant and Catholic schools in
 our Province. They are, undeniably *separate* and
distinct in a religious point of view, and "*Libertas*"
 fails in his endeavor to prove that they are not so,
 and that the distinction is made merely on account
 of difference of language. The Catholic section of
 the Board of Education is not exclusively French;
 it counts, and has always counted, members who
 do not speak French. Some of our Catholic schools
 teach more English than French, and in all the
 localities where there are a few English-speaking
 Catholic families, the English language is taught in
 Catholic schools.

The most important part of "*Libertas*" pam-
 phlet is his attempt to prove that the Catholics
 have no rights with regard to education in this
 Province; and that the Legislature of Manitoba
 has, consequently, "*carte blanche*" to do as it

chooses. I studied that part of the pamphlet attentively. I have read it over again and again, and I do not know why I can find it neither clear nor strong. Fearing that it might be due to obtuseness on my part, I consulted others—some of whom will surely not claim to be *French* or *Catholics*, and, in all cases, their opinion agreed with mine. Far, then, from modifying my views on the legal aspect of the question, I remain convinced, more than ever, of what follows.

1st. The B. N. A. Act, 1867, gives a right of appeal, etc., to the minority of *any Province* in which a system of *Separate Schools* exists by law at the union, or is *thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province*. Well, the *Legislature of the Province of Manitoba*, since the union, has established a system of *Separate Schools*. Therefore, the Catholic minority of the Province of Manitoba has the right of appeal, etc., and is safeguarded, by the Imperial Act of 1867, against any attempt of the Provincial Legislature to deprive it of its rights.

2nd. The Act of Manitoba, 1870, gives to the minority of this Province right of appeal *from any act or decision of the Legislature of the Province affecting any right or privilege* of the minority in relation to education. Now, it is undeniable that the Catholic minority of the Province of Manitoba enjoys certain rights or privileges which would be affected by a radical change in our system of education. Therefore, the Catholic minority of Manitoba has a right of appeal, in virtue of the Manitoba Act, 1870, against any action of the Provincial Legislature affecting such rights and privileges.

3rd. The Imperial Act of B. N. A., 1871, gives to the Manitoba Act the value of an Imperial Statute; and the Act of Manitoba itself extended to the Province it constitutes, the provisions of the B. N. A. Act, 1867, which I invoke

"*Libertas*" cannot be serious when he pretends that, "by my own reasoning," the claims of the Catholics of Manitoba are assimilated to those of the minority of Prince Edward's Island. There is an *essential difference*, which prevents the decision in one case from being considered as a "precedent" in the other. Prince Edward's Island, as well as

British Columbia and New Brunswick, *had no system of Separate Schools established by law after the union*, while Manitoba *had such a system* thus established, and the difference is perfectly apparent.

Before agitating the whole Province, I am sure that all well-meaning men will weigh the danger and uselessness of such agitation.

"One of the 'Five,'" in advice to Protestants, says: "Listen not to the siren song from across 'the river.'" No, sir, my letter has none of the dangerously fascinating powers of damsels sirens; because, when "the French idiom is not quite eliminated," it is not likely that English people will be charmed to fascination; and when a writer acts on a strong conscientious conviction, and with the desire to be useful, his endeavors should not be qualified an attempt to deceive an intelligent population.

† A. of St. B.

St. Boniface, April 13, 1877.

